

THE
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PREFACE.

A first perusal of the contents of this Volume vibrates a personal chord. We are reminded of the sad loss the Society sustained by the death of its beloved President, Col. John W. R. Parker, C.B., F.S.A.; of the good fortune the Society enjoys in its happy choice of his successor, Mr. J. W. Walker, O.B.E., F.S.A., whose active part in archæology is reflected in these pages as well as elsewhere, notably in his comprehensive and fascinating *History of Wakefield*, a second edition of which is about to be published; and of the fact that our County's Society has celebrated its 75th birthday.

Readers will appreciate, we trust, the wide field of archæology that is covered by many valued and authoritative articles in the pages of this Volume. The variety should help to satisfy all tastes. Our knowledge of pre-historic Yorkshire has been considerably extended by the able contributions of Dr. A. Raistrick and others following in his train. Roman Yorkshire, whilst not perhaps occupying so much of our space as usual, has not been neglected. The meticulously careful and scholarly work of one of our Vice-Presidents, Mr. C. T. Clay, F.S.A., has again enriched our pages, and we are happy to state that a further article from his pen is forthcoming in the next number of the *Journal*. Mr. A. G. Dickens has again been a valued contributor, and his erudite articles on certain phases of sixteenth-century history dealing with our County have not only brought to light new matter but have rendered students of our national history considerably indebted to him.

One purpose of our *Journal*, namely to bring to notice and perpetuate valuable documentary evidence, has again been well maintained by Mr. E. W. Crossley, F.S.A., and others; and these pages have happily again been the medium of publication, by competent writers, of further information on our County's social and economic history. We have reason once again to thank the Rev. Dr. Whiting for the versatility and interest of his contri-

butions, and to all contributors we wish to record our thanks for their work, which has helped to uphold the standard of our *Journal*.

Two features of this Volume which will not pass unnoticed are, first, the comparative wealth of short notes, which reflect the diverse and active interest of members; and second, the increased number of our illustrations. Whilst the exigencies of war-time production will inevitably severely curtail the latter, it will not render the former and other features of our *Journal* less valuable or interesting.

J. W. HOUSEMAN,
Hon. Editor.

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THE
Yorkshire Archæological Journal

EDITORIAL NOTES.



THE BULL STONE.

An interesting standing stone is to be seen on the southern slope of the Chevin above the town of Guiseley in the valley of the Aire, and is in the middle of a field a third of a mile due south of the Royalty Inn, which is on the road known as Yorkgate. It can be easily seen and is accessible from the bridle-path running from Yorkgate to West Carlton. On the O.S. map the position is shown as immediately south of the Roman Road which runs from Ilkley to Tadcaster and passes along the ridge of the Chevin.

The stone is close-grained local mill-stone grit and stands 6 ft. in height. Near the ground the section is almost oblong, with sides 3 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 10 ins.; two feet from the top the section is almost circular, and has a circumference of 8 ft. 6 ins. This change of shape may be due to weathering, for the upper portion is much channelled and all trace of working eroded. No tooling is to be seen on the surface. The nearest likely source would be the outcrop on the Otley side of the Chevin, about half a mile to the north.

The land around is at present under the plough, and no trace of other large stones is to be found except the top of a large boulder at ground level, to the south-west of the pillar.

This stone is well-known to the small number of people who live near at hand. A similar stone is said to have stood at the head of Occupation Lane on the western end of the Chevin, and to have been broken up when the cottage was erected at that place. It is always called the "Bull Stone" and is said to be "lucky."

This is one of many similar-named standing stones that occur on the Yorkshire Pennines, and also particularly in mid- and north-Northumberland, and, like many of the other examples, is associated with the old parish boundary, standing within a few yards of a marked bend where it takes a different direction. It is likely that the stone from time immemorial has been a fixed point in the boundary between Guiseley and Carlton.

From analogy with many of the other examples, it can probably be assigned to the Middle Bronze age.

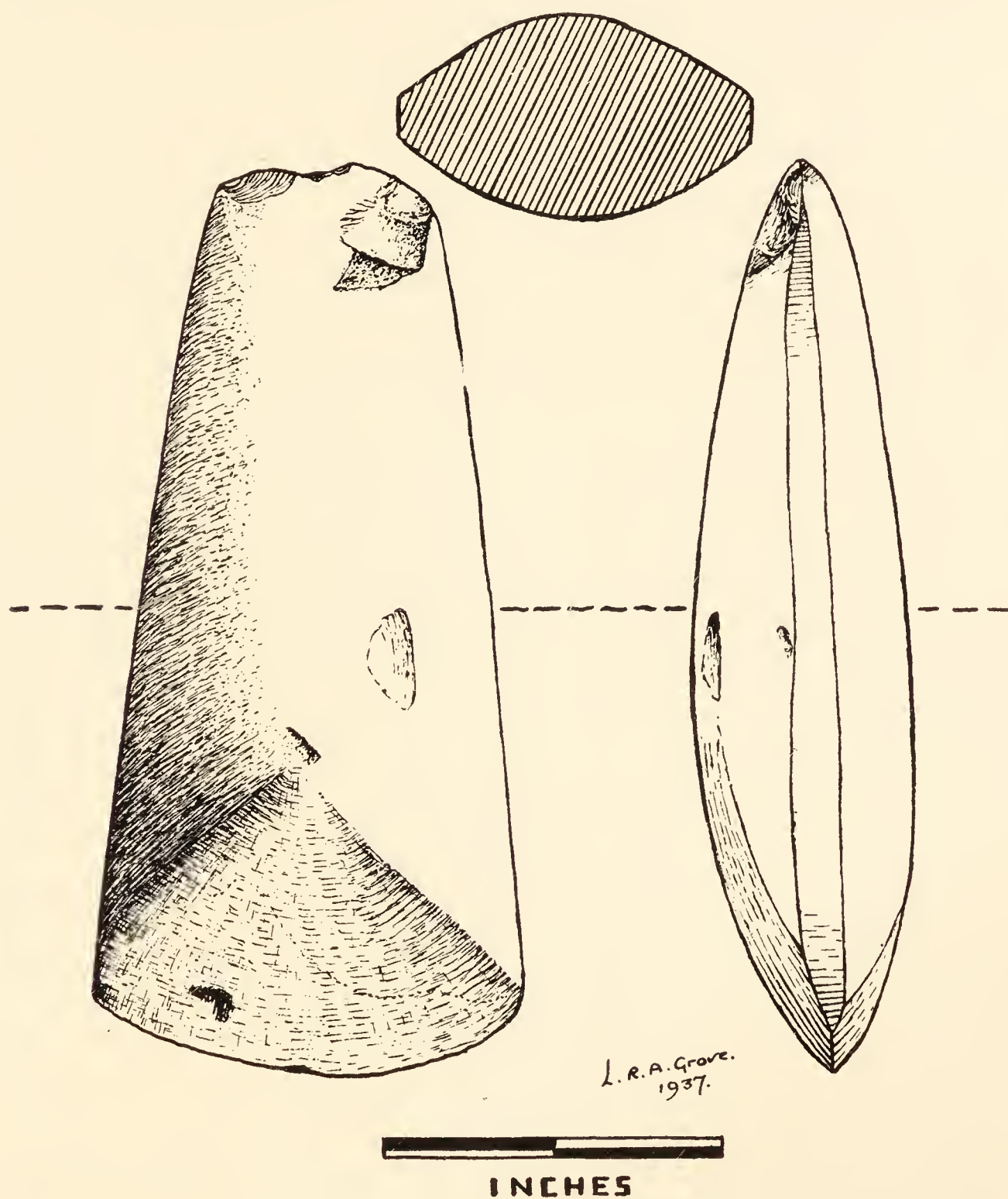
E. T. COWLING.

FLAT-SIDED AXE FROM WYKEHAM, NEAR SCARBOROUGH.

The flat-sided axe here illustrated was found at Wykeham, near Scarborough, in January, 1937, by Mr. Harold Robinson, a farm foreman. It was sticking out of the ground in the SW. corner of the field which lies immediately SSE. of Swan Hill House or Farm (map reference—O.S., Yorks. North Riding, 6", sheet XCIII, SW., Longitude $0^{\circ} 31' 30''$ and Latitude $54^{\circ} 13' 2''$). It is $5\frac{3}{8}$ " long, of a light-coloured greenstone, beautifully polished and smooth, with rounded cutting edge and butt, and with the sides squared and almost straight. It is now in the possession of Mr. Henry Jackson of Swan Hill Farm.

Mr. Smallcombe, Curator of Reading Museum, has recently published in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, volume 3, part 1, the finding of an axe of this type at East Knoyle, Wiltshire.

It was associated with a flint sickle and a flat-bottomed vessel which might possibly have been Neolithic in type. Another, from a barrow at Gospel Hill, Buxton, Derbyshire, was associated with conical beads of Kimmeridge shale with V-shaped perforations. In the same barrow was found a beaker of Abercromby's sub-type B1 (*Reliquary*, viii, 85, and *Archæologia*, xliii). Similar flat-

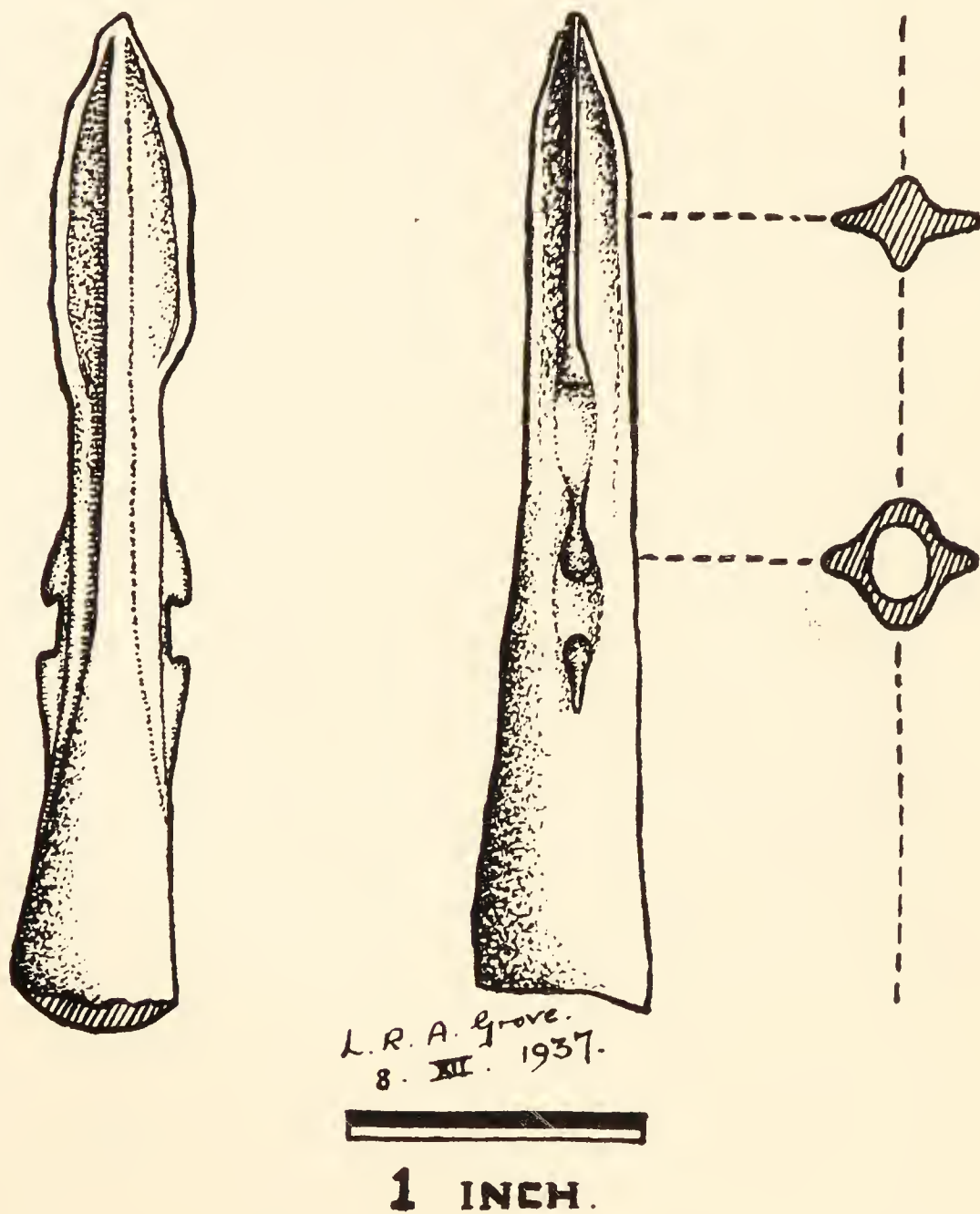


sided axes are found mostly, in this country, within the influence of main rivers: for instance, there are over twenty examples from the Middle Thames Valley in the Reading Museum. A published Yorkshire example parallel to the present specimen—of greenstone and with a flattened oval section—was found at Aldwark Moor, ten miles north of York (*Y.A.J.*, xx, 256).

L. R. A. GROVE, B.A.

BRONZE SPEARHEAD FROM ALLERSTON, NEAR PICKERING.

The bronze spearhead here illustrated was found in 1921 by Mr. Hopper at Warren House Farm, Allerston, near Pickering (map reference—O.S., Yorks. North Riding, 6", sheet XCII, NW., Longitude $0^{\circ} 39' 30''$ and Latitude $54^{\circ} 15'$). It has recently come into the possession of the Kirk Collection, Castle Museum, York



(accession number 1/31). It is $3\frac{3}{8}$ " long and is covered with a dark-green patina, only broken at the edges and at a few points where there has been recent wear and tear. Both loops are broken, but otherwise there has been little damage done.

This spearhead belongs to a type which may be defined as small (generally about six inches or less in length), looped (the loops being half way between the socket entrance and the base of the blade), with a strong midrib and fairly narrow leaf-shaped

blade. In view of the assertion that this type was of Irish origin and spread to England and Scotland about the middle of the Bronze Age (*e.g.* in *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. vi, 1926, p. 445), the distribution throughout this country is of interest. It will be seen from the distribution map that spearheads of this type are distributed mainly along the rivers and near the coast. They tend to be more frequent east of longitude 2° west of Greenwich.

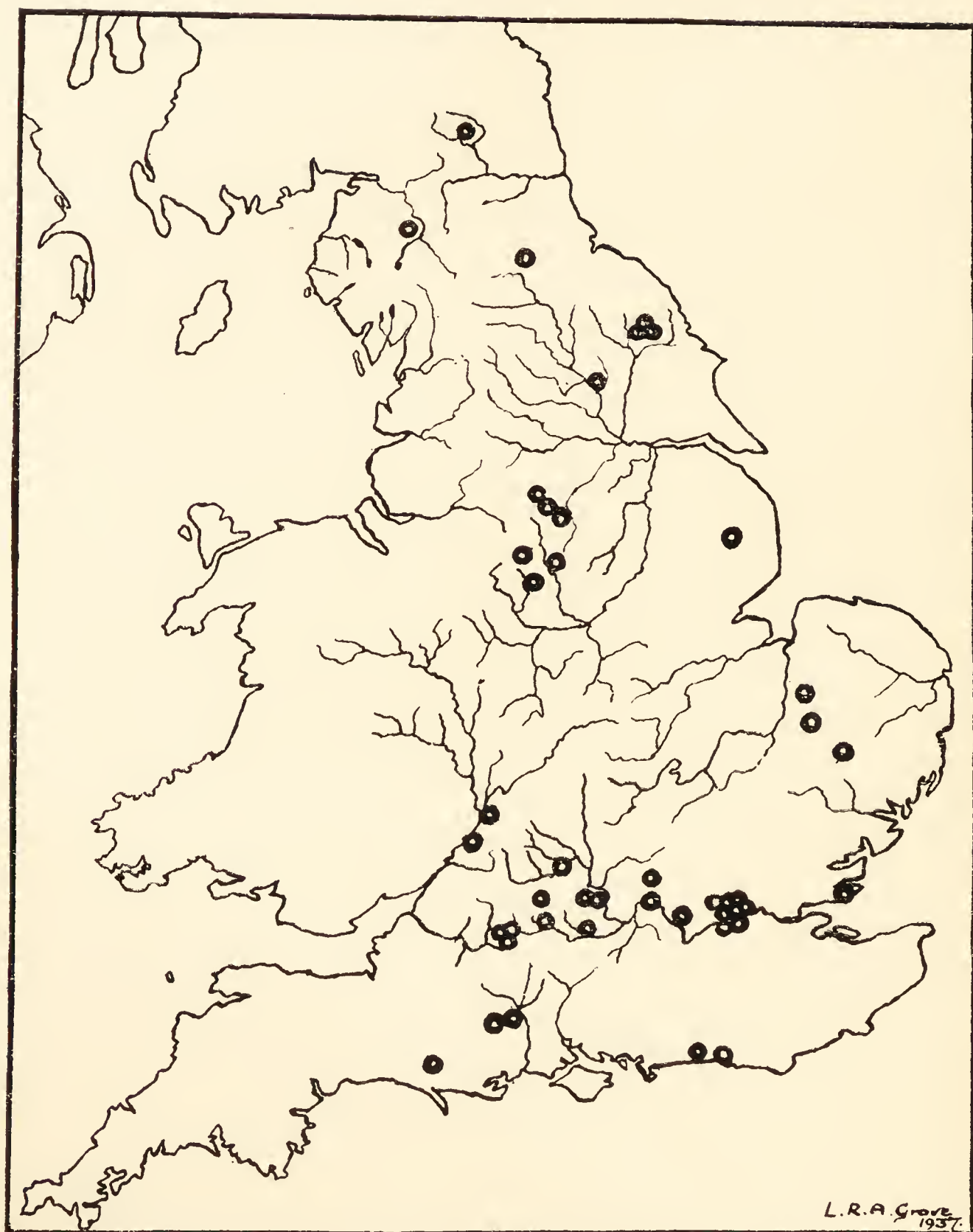
Within the type there is much variation. The High Dalby example has hardly perceptible wings and has much the appearance of a dagger; the one from Pickering district has two peg holes; and some spearheads, such as the Langton one, have slightly ogival wings. Yet no hard and fast line divides the type from the larger spearheads of type IV of Greenwell and Brewis, and it is probable that all the examples here listed were made in this country and not in Ireland. The smaller size is possibly due to economising with metal and does not necessarily make the implement a javelin-head (*Archæologia*, lxi, 452).

The map should be compared with Dr. Raistrick's North of England distribution maps of food vessels, and period II bronze implements in *Archæologia Aeliana*, viii (1931), 149–165.

The list and map have been made from personal notes and from details kindly supplied to me from the British Museum Catalogue of Bronze Implements by Mr. A. O. N. Osborne. I have also to thank Dr. W. E. Collinge, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, for allowing me to see the examples under his care.

DISTRIBUTION LIST.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BERKSHIRE | .. Ashbury (Peake: <i>Archæology of Berks.</i> , p. 175).
Cookham (R. Thames)—in Reading Museum.
Hagbourne Hill: two specimens in British Museum (Peake: <i>op. cit.</i> , and <i>Archæologia</i> , xvi, 343–348).
Speen (Peake: <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 228). |
| BUCKINGHAMSHIRE | Datchet—River Thames (London Museum, A 17919).
Princes Risborough. |
| CUMBERLAND | .. Penrith. |
| DERBYSHIRE | .. Near R. Wye, between Cressbrook and Litton Mill, 1831 (Bateman Collection, Sheffield Museum—J 93.525).
Matlock Bath, found near R. Derwent, 1806 (Bateman Collection, Sheffield Museum—J 93.469). |



Distribution of small, looped,
bronze spearheads.

- Stanedge Farm, Newhaven, Jan. 1853 (Sheffield Museum).
- DORSET Maiden Castle — *Antiquaries' Journal*, xvii (1937), 263.
- ESSEX Shoeburyness.
- GLOUCESTERSHIRE Deerhurst—*Antiquaries' Journal*, xv (1935), 197.
Coney Hill, Gloucester—*Antiquaries' Journal*, xv (1935), 197.
- LINCOLNSHIRE .. Langton, near Wragby.
- LONDON AND .. Hammersmith (R. Thames).
MIDDLESEX Isleworth (R. Thames).
Millbank (London Museum—C 891).
Sion Reach (London Museum—A 23480).
Wandsworth (R. Thames).
Westminster (R. Thames).
- NORFOLK .. Methwold.
- NORTHUMBERLAND Bellingham.
- OXFORDSHIRE .. Tenfoot Bridge, near Shifford—in the Thames Conservancy Collection, Reading Museum.
- SUFFOLK Ixworth; and Lakenheath (*Archæologia*, lxi, fig. 115).
- SURREY Richmond—R. Thames at Glover's Island (*Archæologia*, vol. lxi, pl. lxxviii, p. 66).
Raven's Ait, Surbiton.
- SUSSEX Park Brow, near Cissbury (*Antiq. Journ.*, vi, 1926, 444–445).
Brighton Downs.
- WILTSHIRE .. Aldbourne.
Beckhampton Down (Devizes Museum Catalogue, Pt. II, 1934, p. 63).
Coombe Bissett, near Salisbury.
Hemp Knoll, Bishop's Cannings (*Ibid.*, p. 226).
Rushmere.
North side of Wansdyke Hill, near Tan Hill (*Ibid.*, p. 66).
- YORKSHIRE .. Allerston, near Pickering (York Castle Museum).
Cartworth Moor (Petch: *Early Man in the Huddersfield District*, p. 54).
High Dalby, near Pickering (Yorkshire Museum).
Penistone—Town Edge Quarries, Crow Edge, Hazelhead, 1937 (Sheffield Museum—J 1937.84).

Pickering District (Yorkshire Museum—figured on p. 35 of Gordon Home's *Evolution of an English Town*).

Stannington, near Sheffield, 1936 (Sheffield Museum—J 1937.5).

York—High Ousegate (Yorkshire Museum—e. coll. Dr. H. A. Phillips).

Bowes, North Riding (In the British Museum—*Archæologia*, lxi, fig. 61).

See also Thurnam's references to further specimens in *Archæologia*, vol. xliii, part 2, p. 447.

L. R. A. GROVE, B.A.

ORIGINAL CERTIFICATE OF A MARRIAGE BY A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.

“ Westriding of Yorksheire.”

¹ “ These are to certify all whome itt may concerne Thatt a mariage Betweene William Power² of Hallifax, Gentl. of the age of twenty and three yeares & Mary Wormall of the same spinster of the age of eighteene yeares was solempnised Before me Henry Tempest³ Esquire one of the Justices of peace for the sayde Riding three & twentieth day of January in the yeare of our Lord God one thowsand six hundred fifty and three In the presence of Thomas Power⁴ of London Gentl. & Richard Gibson of Hallifax two credible wittnesses I haveing first received a lawfull Certificate of publicacon of the agreement of the saide parties concerning the saide mariage according to the tenor of the saide Act and sufficient Proofof the truth of the Certificate and of the due performance of all thinges apperteyning to the saide agreement and publicacon & likewise sufficient proofof upon oath of the consent of Anthony Foxcroft of Hallifax Gentleman (Guardian to the saide Mary Wormall) unto the saide mariage. In testimony whereof I the saide Henry Tempest have hereunto sett my hand & seale the day and yeare first abovewritten.”

“ Hen: Tempest ”

(Seal of red wax on tag; no impression. No endorsement.)

E.W.C.

¹ Y.A.S. D.D. 36 (139a).

² He was the fourth son of John Power, a Spanish merchant of Halifax, by Jane, dau. of — Jennings, who afterwards married Anthony Foxcroft of Halifax. William is described in the family pedigree as “ of London, haberdasher ” (*Hx. Ant. Soc. Trans.*, 1917, p. 31).

³ Henry Tempest of Tong, J.P., M.P. for Yorkshire 1654. The eldest son of John Tempest of Tong (*Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. Clay, i, 44).

⁴ Citizen and Stationer of London, third son of John Power (*Hx. Ant. Soc. Trans.*, 1917, p. 31).

HARROGATE GROUP.

The remarkable success of this movement in its first year is worthy of notice.

About 80 members residing in Harrogate, Ripon, Wetherby and district were called together. Local officers and a Committee were elected. Excavations of a Tumulus in Ribston Park, an ancient burial ground on Ailsa Hill, Ripon, and a Roman site at Adel, were carried out under the able direction of Mr. B. W. J. Kent, F.S.A. (Scot.). Assistance—including the survey of the site—was given to the R.A. Committee at Aldborough. Several other sites have been visited and permission given for excavation this year. The removal was accomplished of the battle cross at Bramham, from a hedge bottom, to a site generously given by Lord Bingley. A large number of stone querns, bowls, troughs, one or two fonts and a sun-dial were acquired, and placed in a protected position in the Valley Gardens, Harrogate. Other valuable objects were placed in the museums at Leeds, Wakefield, and York, and the Harrogate Public Library. Parish Registers (referred to elsewhere) were restored. Most enjoyable and instructive excursions were made to Browsholme Hall (by the very kind invitation of the late President, Col. Parker, C.B., F.S.A.), Sawley Abbey, Clitheroe Castle, Kirk Hammerton Church, Nun Monkton Priory, Selby Abbey, Cawood Castle, and Ryther Church. Lectures were given by Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, C.B.E., F.S.A., Professor Armstrong, and Mr. J. R. Ogden, F.S.A., when audiences of up to 150 attended. Local excursions and other activities are being arranged for this year. Most important (from the Hon. Treasurer's standpoint) is the increase of 100 members to the parent Society. Much of the success is due to the enthusiasm and generosity of Mr. J. R. Ogden, F.S.A., the local President. An effort to form another group is being made at Otley. H.C.

A STONE *MENSA* AT KNARESBOROUGH.

The *mensa* of a mediæval altar was found on June 5th, 1937, in the graveyard of Knaresborough parish church, and is of special interest as it was apparently marked, originally, with eight incised crosses, of which three at the north end and two in the middle remain. The south end is broken and a piece, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, is missing. The dimensions of the slab are as follows: Length 4 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (originally 5 ft. 4 ins.); Breadth 3 ft. 3 ins.; Depth 6 ins.

The end crosses are $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. apart and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. from the end, the outside two being 8 ins. from the front and back respectively.

The other two crosses are near the centre, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. apart, the front one being $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. from the front of the altar and the other 23 ins. from the back. The end and front are bevelled with a straight angular moulding of 3 ins. by 3 ins. and the north-west corner is slightly shaped.

This stone was noticed forming part of a retaining wall near the north-east corner of the chancel, and it has now been restored to the church. About half of it was buried underground, which probably accounts for the preservation of the bevelling.

PETER B. G. BINNALL.

SUMMER EXCURSIONS, 1938.

JUNE 16—HAZLEWOOD CASTLE AND TADCASTER DISTRICT.

JULY 21-22 (two days)—DARLINGTON DISTRICT (Leader—Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, C.B.E., V.P.S.A.).

SEPT. 15—YORK DISTRICT.

THE COURT OF SEWERS FOR THE EAST PARTS OF THE EAST RIDING.

By S. G. E. LYTHER, M.A.

Less than a generation after 1257, when Henry de Bathonia codified the customs of Romney Marsh, Edward I was informed of floods in the lowlands of Holderness, and issued a commission "de walliis, fossatis etc." to Thomas de Normanvil, his steward in Holderness, ordering him to view and rectify the damage. Such is the first recorded instance of official intervention in the drainage organisation of eastern East Yorkshire, and in the following two centuries scarcely a decade elapsed during which one or more commissions was not issued.¹ These commissions created no standing authority. Their purpose was simply to meet a sudden emergency and to attach liability when the customary organisation had broken down or when abnormal rain or floods had created problems with which it could not cope. So when the wrongs were righted and the waters abated the work of the commission automatically ceased and except for the customary local organisation no more was heard of drainage and embankments till another flood produced another commission. The right to issue commissions was inherent in the royal prerogative, but though the procedure received statutory recognition in 1427 it failed to create any permanent administrative machinery and was in consequence ill fitting in the permanent uniform government visualised by the Tudors, for to them uniformity, whether in poor relief, in labour codes or in drainage administration was an essential element in national power.²

The Tudor legislation effecting transformation and unification of local administration was characterised by long life. Elizabeth's labour and poor relief codes survived until the Industrial Revolution, but the Statute of Sewers of 1531³ and the machinery it created have outlived them both, for though modified in 1833 and 1861, the Court of Sewers survived to be sentenced to a lingering death by the Land Drainage Act of 1930. The Court for the East Parts of the East Riding, one of the many established under this

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* and W. Dugdale, *History of Imbanking and Drayning* (1662).

² This aspect of Mercantilism has been brought out in E. Hecksher, *Mercantilism*, Vol. 1 (1931).

³ 23 Henry VIII, c. 5.

statute of 1531, was responsible for all drains and embankments in the lowlands of Holderness and the River Hull Valley, for the channel of the River Hull, and for various tributary streams coming down from the west and north. In other words its jurisdiction lay in the three bailiwicks of Holderness and into the wapentakes of Dickering, Bainton and Hunsley. From 1763 onwards the area within the Court's jurisdiction was severely lopped by the establishment of new drainage and navigation authorities, and it is proposed to confine this article to the work of the Court in the century and a half leading up to that date, a period for which voluminous manuscript records exist.¹

(1) THE PERSONNEL OF THE COURT.

(a) The Commissioners.

The Court consisted of a minimum of six commissioners drawn from those nominated by the Lord Chancellor and named in the Commission. The Commission of Sewers was similar in some respects to the Commission of the Peace, but the powers of Commissioners of Sewers were limited, both in subject and space. Under the statute of 1531 the qualification necessary for inclusion on the commission was "land and tenements to the clear yearly value of fourty marks," freedom of a corporate town, or recognised legal knowledge. Unlike the mediæval commissions those issued after 1531 remained in force for a set period, during which the commissioners remained jointly responsible for the execution of such duties as were delegated to them by the statute. Originally the term of office was three years but by the early part of Elizabeth's reign it had been extended to ten, which remained the normal duration till the act of 1861² by which the commission continued till superseded by the Crown. The quorum system was common to the Commission of Sewers and the Commission of the Peace. In 1660 forty-one of the persons named for the East Parts of the East Riding were "of the quorum," all barons, baronets, knights and esquires. Thirty-eight were not of the quorum, all esquires and gentlemen. The total number increased rapidly by the end of the seventeenth century. In 1670, for example, no less than 186 were named, and the total remained at about that level all through the eighteenth century. Even with so large a number

¹ Partly in the County Hall, Beverley, and partly with the Clerk of the Court of Sewers. My thanks are due to the custodians of these

records for permission to explore them.

² 24 and 25 Vict., c. 133.

it was not always easy to muster the requisite six, and the real work was done by a handful of enthusiasts. In 1728, a fairly typical year, the court met twelve times. Fifty commissioners put in one or more attendances, but only eight attended six or more meetings. By the statute of 1531 each commissioner received a fee of four shillings for each meeting he attended, but with the fall in the value of money this in itself ceased to be any inducement. The difficulty of attending was increased by irregularity in the time and place of meetings. In its early days the court had no regular "court room." On various occasions between 1580 and 1735 it met at Bilton, at Hedon, "at the house of ffrancis Ombler being the sign of the Nagg's head in the parish of Sutton," at "Boarhouses in the parish of Cottingham," and in Beverley. Most of the meetings were held in the middle of summer when the water level was down and when the cleansing of dykes and the mowing of weeds could proceed.

Attendance at court was the commissioners' main duty, but from time to time they undertook surveying work. So in 1670 the constables of the townships along the Humber Bank were instructed to have all gates opened and planks laid across all drains so that the Commissioners "may conveniently pass from one part to another." Similarly in 1728 they received word that the River Hull was choked with grass and reeds, "great growth of earth and sludge," stones and stakes and other "purprestures." Accordingly a number of commissioners spent two days viewing the river from a boat, for the loan of which William Jewell received a guinea. Sometimes individual commissioners were charged with the execution of some particular work, and often people with grievances addressed letters or petitions to commissioners whom they knew, for the active members of the commission were nearly all local squires and as such influenced by those personal connections which sometimes militate against unprejudiced administration.

(b) The Juries.

Each year the Court issued a precept to the Sheriff ordering him to empanel six juries of twenty-four men, one for each of the three bailiwicks of Holderness and one for each of the three wapentakes. The jurymen were selected by the bailiffs, acting on the sheriff's behalf, from lists prepared beforehand by the parish constables. Fresh jury lists were prepared from time to time, and from the 1722 lists, which survive almost complete, it appears that freehold tenure was a requisite qualification. Quakers and

persons over the age of 60 were exempt, and in that year the practice was instituted of giving each juror a certificate exempting him from further service within a reasonable period. Jury service, at that time entirely voluntary, was naturally unpopular. On a few occasions, for example in 1641, the full jury attended the court, but normally only about two-thirds of the twenty-four seem to have appeared. Those who absented themselves without reasonable cause were punished. So in 1781 it was ordered that "Matthew Moss of Preston be fined 20s. for not attending and that he be committed to the House of Correction in Beverley till he pay the said fine." The excuses sent in by jurymen form a medical index in themselves. We read of ruptures, "botches and biles," "feavers," lameness, "rheumattissim" and so forth. Others pleaded transport difficulties. One had no horse, "only two mares with fole," another had lent his horse to a friend to lead coals, others had to attend Hedon sittings to hire servants, whilst one Simpson claimed to be "a brother of ye Bridle, and greatly engaged this sporting season."

The main function of the jury was to view every water-course, bridge or bank within its division over which the Court might have jurisdiction. In each case they were to report defects and ascertain who "by custom or tenure" was responsible for maintenance; and if they could decide on an individual, they were to assess the number of acres in the level "that receive benefit or may have prejudice." Such a survey could not be undertaken by a band of amateurs without some guide. The guide supplied by the Court was a "book of pains," an inventory of everything the jury had to survey, parish by parish. Such books of pains, based themselves on jury surveys, had to be renewed from time to time, indeed, judging from the survivals it seems that in the middle of the seventeenth century a new one was drawn up each year on the basis of presentments made by the previous year's jury. One quotation from a typical book will illustrate the nature of the contents—

"Pattrington.

Fleet from Stone-wath } That the Fleet from Stone-wath to
to High-bridge } Pattrington high-bridge and so to
the Clow¹ be kept 12 foot wide at the slow of the Bank and
8 foot wide at the bottom and be sufficiently dressed by the
Inhabitants of Pattrington, Remswell, Hollym, Frodingham,
Plewland and Winestead."

¹ "Clow" or "clough"—a form of sluice.

So when the jurisdiction of the Court was extended over a bank or drain, that particular work was said to be "taken into pains." Similarly if any work were removed from the care of the Court (a rare proceeding) it was "taken out of pains."

Often a jury found no defects whatever. That, we may suspect, was because they did not look hard enough, for in 1723 the Court warned the juries, "You must take care to make a due returne hereof, you must spare none for favour or bribe as you and they will answer the same att the utmost which the Law will give you. The Commissioners will be very strict." But a generation later H. Holme of Skeffling said that a drain between Holme Close and Hillpatch had not been scoured for eight or nine years, and the jury ignored it. We must bear in mind not only the unwillingness but also the illiteracy of the juries. In the early eighteenth century only one jurymen out of five could sign his own name. This may explain the lack of uniformity in jury returns. Normally they returned defects as they saw them in geographical arrangement, but occasionally they seem to have arranged defects subject by subject in response to a set list of questions. "To the 13th article wee say that the Maine Sea coasteth on our Division from Waxham Dyke to Kilnsey gut and which wee esteem to be ten myles against which there is noe defence of banke or jetty neither do wee judge it possible to make any" (1661). This irregularity of form is further complicated by the diversity of titles. We find references to "Presenting Jury," "Paining Jury," and "Expenditor Jury," besides the comprehensive "Water Jury." In MS. notes¹ Dr. Wilson-Barkwith suggested that an "Expenditor" was an official employed by a Court of Sewers to expend or disburse money collected for the repair of sewers.² No evidence exists of any such official in the East Parts of the East Riding, but the same sort of function was performed by juries and by foremen of juries. At first sight it would appear that the "Presenting Jury" reported defects and that the "Expenditor Jury" saw that they were remedied. It is fairly clear, however, that only one jury existed for each division. In 1694 a paper speaks of "presentments made by the Expenditor Jury." It is likely that the personnel of the two was identical, and that the title depended upon the task the jury happened to have on hand.

¹ Now in the Wilson-Barkwith collection in the Hull Public Library.

² The appointment of such an official was envisaged by the Statute of 1531.

(c) Officers of the Court.

The Statute of Sewers of 1531 contemplated the appointment of a clerk, bailiff, collector and other officers, and stipulated that the clerk's fee should be 2s. for each day he served the Court. In the absence of further details as to qualifications or terms of appointment it seems that these clauses in the statute were merely permissive, and, as Callis¹ maintained, the election of officers was entirely in the discretion of the Court. The only really permanent office created by the Court for the East Parts of the East Riding was that of Clerk, and the succession of clerks is continuous from the Commonwealth period, though in the seventeenth century at any rate the clerk was appointed for the term of the commission only. So in 1682 two commissioners, Francis Warton and Christopher Hildyard, informed the new Court that "Mr. Tadmén is a very fitt person to serve as Clarke to this Commission, he having executed that office very honestly and diligently by the space of twenty yeares last past." In the early years of the eighteenth century the Court repeatedly experienced difficulty in recovering documents from the executors of former clerks, with the result that in 1717 it required the new clerk, Ramsden Barnard, to give £200 security. The office of clerk was never more than part time, and the clerks tended to confuse the business of the Court with that of other bodies with which they were connected. For the office was plainly no sinecure. The statutory fee of 2s. a day, reasonable enough in 1531, became a mere nominal acknowledgment as time went on, and in 1660 the Court granted the Clerk a number of additional fees, 1s. from anyone searching the records, 6s. for a traverse, 1s. 6d. for each petition submitted, and 1d. in the £ on all accounts. For normally the clerk was also treasurer. The two offices were separated in 1718, but they retained a somewhat haphazard relationship down to 1833, when this separation was enforced by statute.²

Another office of some antiquity is that of Cryer. In their book *The Parish and the County* Mr. and Mrs. Webb have described the functions of the cryer in the Court of Quarter Sessions: how he made formal announcements, demanded silence, called out names, ran errands and so forth. These were the functions of the cryer in the Court of Sewers, though there is no evidence that the office was permanent before the early eighteenth century.

¹ "The Reading of Robert Callis upon the Statute of 23 Henry VIII of Sewers. Delivered at Gray's Inn, in August, 1622."

² 3 & 4 Wm. IV, c. 22.

The same period saw the emergence of permanent part-time surveyors. In the 1720s William Brown was the general surveyor. Sometimes he accompanied the juries, more often he worked alone. There was also a "surveyor for the River Hull"—first Christopher Story and on his decease George Fletcher: but from the court books it seems that they were watchmen rather than surveyors.

But whilst the Court was reluctant to increase its own official staff, it made continuous use of those village officers who bore titles and fulfilled functions going back to the Middle Ages. The village constables, the Pooh-Bahs of local government, were in constant demand to summon jurymen, accompany juries or execute warrants. In many Holderness parishes drainage rates were collected by the Bylawman, the Seadyke-graves, the Syddy-graves or the Carr-graves. In the absence of parish officers, or for work affecting several parishes, the Court occasionally appointed temporary assessors or collectors. During the heat of the Civil War, in 1647, a group of persons appointed to collect a rate for the repair of embankments at Drypool refused to act. The Court immediately ordered that they "shall bee committed to the custody of the Bailiffe of the Libertee of Holderness and to bee by him conveyed to the castle of Yorke." The imprisoned collectors petitioned for release as they were missing the hay-harvest, and the corn-harvest was rapidly approaching. Released on bail, they came before the Court on Aug. 10th and were "sorie for their forwardness and former obstinacie." They were all forgiven.

Such incidents, trivial in themselves but intensely human, illustrate accurately the administrative inefficiency of the Court in its early years. In the seventeenth century the jury was the backbone, assisted by parish officers and other persons nominated in special cases. Then in the early eighteenth century more permanent specialised officials appear, acting sometimes with the jury but more often alone. As the eighteenth century drew to a close the area over which the Court exercised jurisdiction was reduced, and jury service consequently became less onerous. A further step was taken by legislation in 1833 which permitted the Court to pay witnesses and finally in 1861 the Court was given powers to dispense with the jury system and act exclusively through salaried officials and witnesses.

(2) THE COURT IN ACTION.

The functions of the Court were never clearly specified, but according to Callis the intention of the Statute of 1531 was to

establish two groups of duties: to maintain dykes, embankments and other "defensive works" and to restrain locks, dams, mills and other "offensive works." These executive functions tended through usage to include matters not envisaged in 1531,¹ and a mere recital of the Court's activities indicates the wide interpretation it placed upon its jurisdiction. Besides all the normal supervision of drains and inland embankments, it regulated the taking of cobbles from Spurn Head, it was interested in the River Hull both as a navigable waterway and as a drain, in the repair of bridges, the maintenance and rebuilding of jetties and coast defences, together with the thankless task of enforcing liabilities and extracting rates. Some of these duties were common to all Courts of Sewers, others were peculiar to the East Riding, and it is proposed to examine these in greater detail.

Spurn Point is one of the distinctive features of East Yorkshire. Its geology, the varying fortunes of its lighthouse, and its place in political history² have often been described, but its economic history has been neglected. The East Coast south of Flamborough Head is deficient in road-making materials, and Spurn has always been an unfailing source of cobbles. As early as 1670 the Court took steps to regulate this trade by appointing six local bailiffs and by introducing a system of licences for persons wishing to remove stones. In the same year the people of Marfleet obtained permission to lead cobbles for the repair of their jetty. Similarly in 1674 Leonard Lawson of Preston, "shoemaker to the Justices of the Peace," petitioned for leave to take "twelve tunnes"; the men of Tickton wanted stone to repair their roads; and a few years later "forty tunnes" were taken to Beverley for the repair of the "causeys." The trade was not purely local, for in 1735 the Court expressed indignation against people who, without permission, took cobbles off the foreshore of the Holderness coast, which were "carried to Boston, Gainsboro' and other remote places, and there exposed for sale." Profits resulting from the trade apparently belonged to the owners of the foreshore, for in 1750 the Constables (as Lords of Holderness) received £12 for 240 tons of cobbles taken to London for the construction of Westminster Bridge, and their bailiff at Kilnsea had one half the proceeds of such sales in lieu of salary.³

¹ Cf. S. & B. Webb, *English Poor Law History*, i, 149. "Between the statute book and the actual administration of the parish officers there was, in the eighteenth century, normally only a casual connection."

² E.g. Bolingbroke landed there in 1399.

³ Stuart Moore, "Report on Attorney General v. Constable," Pt. 1, p. 290 foll. (MS. at Burton Constable).

This supervision of the foreshore and Spurn Point was closely associated with the problem of coast defence, for even in the seventeenth century it was realised that lowering the foreshore may hasten coast erosion. Since the end of the Quaternary Ice Age the boulder-clay cliffs of Holderness have been receding before the violence of 400 miles of open sea, but till the nineteenth century no attempts were made to check the process except at Bridlington and Hornsea, and at Sandley Mere, where an embankment or "rampier," maintained under the supervision of the Court, protected the old mere bed and prevented the sea from flooding Keyingham Level. In general, then, the Court had no solution to offer to the problem of East Coast erosion.¹

In the south, on the Humber Coast, the problem was one of flooding rather than erosion, and the Court took over the supervision of a coastal embankment, dating back to Norman times and maintained by various owners and occupiers on a customary arrangement of equal antiquity.² It is not surprising, then, that the earliest records of the Court are a series dealing with the repair of the river banks in Drypool in the time of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts. The men of Drypool put forward the usual plea of coast-dwellers. Why should they bear all the expense when the risk of flooding affected the whole level? *Mutatis mutandis* men were likewise arguing that "ship-money" should be paid by inland as well as coastal towns. The matter dragged on for several years, enlivened from time to time by recriminations and notes from the government. The men of Drypool said that the Court refused to give any "ayd." The Court said the men of Drypool were obstinate, and threatened to fine them £1,000. The climax came in 1643 when soldiers quartered in the neighbouring block-houses and castle broke down and stole some of the wooden defences, and to complete the destruction a "hideous and mighty winde" arose, forcing up the waves and carrying away what remained. So in 1647 the Court, moved by the combination of "these unhappy warres" and the "mighty power of God," compromised by levying a rate on townships inland to make a loan to the men of Drypool.

Further east along the Humber Coast were a series of "jetties" and "lockerworks" which needed constant attention. A sixteenth-century map³ shows a group of jetties at Little Humber,

¹ The difficulties of this problem were emphasised in the Final Report of the Royal Com. on Coast Erosion (1911).

² This maintenance had been enforced in the Middle Ages by the

"ad hoc" Commissions of Sewers, appointed as and where necessity arose.

³ British Museum, Royal MS. 18, D 111.

and manuscript notes on the map indicate that the banks were from four and a half to six feet in height, except at Paull hill, where they were higher. There were breaches at Welwick and elsewhere which were to be repaired by the "queene's landes" to protect the country from inundation. Similarly in 1628 the Court was informed that the defences "commonly called Tennants Seadike within the Westlands of the Parish of Patrington" were defective, in 1641 Skeffling jetty was in trouble, in 1642 Easington "peere," in 1643 Weeton jetty, and so on with almost unfailing regularity till the latter part of the seventeenth century, when accretion commenced and blocked drainage outfalls took the place of defective defences as the problem of the day in South Holderness.

By reference to the Statute of Sewers of 1531 it would seem that the Court's jurisdiction over bridges should have been restricted to preventing them from obstructing the flow of water beneath. On several occasions the Court compelled townships to heighten bridges so as to increase the capacity of the waterway. Similarly they instructed the people of Barmston to desist from filling Earl's Dyke with cobbles and to build a bridge instead. But their jurisdiction went further than this. In 1669 they ordered that the bridge between Burton Pidsea and Elsternwick should be 8 feet wide, and in 1726 they considered the plan and estimate for a new "Tickton Brigh"—

	£	s.	d.
"Oke wood for piyells	1	10	0
230 foot of oke planke	5	15	0
14000 bricks at 12s. per thousen	8	8	0
4 choders of lime	2	0	0
Bricklaers worke	2	0	0
Scafling of deming and senters	1	10	0
Carppenters worke and laboerers worke ..	2	15	0
	<hr/>		
	23	18	0

40 Lode of chokes to rase withall."

These evidences, which are merely samples, suggest that the Court was ready to assume responsibility for the entire supervision of bridges, yet there was no suggestion of any clash with the highways authority. This harmony may be explained by the close identity of the personnel of the Court of Sewers with that of the Court of Quarter Sessions.

The importance of the River Hull becomes evident from an examination of a relief map. It receives water not only from the north and west, but also from the east, for the greater part of Holderness drains inland. The river has always fulfilled two functions, drainage and navigation. It has been navigable from the time of its embankment¹ and the flourishing state of mediæval Beverley was due partly to its location at the head of Beverley Beck, a short canalised tributary of the River Hull. Much has been made of the failure of Courts of Sewers to maintain navigable waterways. Surveying several such failures Dr. Willan says "In view of these reverses, it must have been obvious that a Commission of Sewers was an inadequate method of dealing with rivers, at least as far as navigation was concerned."² The Court in the East Riding certainly attempted to keep the channel clear. In 1691 and again in 1741 it issued orders for the removal of boats and keels sunk in the river. On the latter occasion a special rate was levied for the purpose as the owner of the keel was too poor to bear the expense of salvage. There is, however, a deep cleavage between the interests of navigation and the interests of drainage. The one dreads a low and the other a high water level. The Court of Sewers was primarily a drainage authority, and viewed the River Hull as a main drain. Liability to scour the banks and mow the weeds rested on adjoining owners, each of whom was responsible for a certain number of cordes.³ In the latter part of the seventeenth century the custom was to mow the weeds twice each summer, once before June 24th and again before August 1st, but this was evidently inadequate in years of abnormal growth, for in 1729 the Court ordered that certain parts of the river banks should be mowed fortnightly. For a time there was some improvement, but in 1756 conditions were as bad as ever. "The universal clamour about the height of the water this summer exceeds anything ever met with the true grounds for these complaints are the weeds there was a passage about the middle of the river just big enough for our boat and on both sides the weeds so high and strong that they will bear considerable weight."⁴ The enforcement of liability to maintain the river banks was plainly one of the Court's main difficulties. In 1700 Mr. Sam. Boyes "who lately married the widow of Ralph Wilberforce"

¹ Probably shortly after the Norman Conquest.

² *River Navigation in England* (1936), p. 21.

³ "Corde"—21 feet. A common unit of measurement for drains, banks, etc., in Holderness.

⁴ A petition addressed to the Court in 1756.

was amerced £18 for failing to maintain the river bank from Frodingham High Bridge towards Emmotland, but he promptly had the work done and the fine was discharged. A generation later Sir John Nelson, Hugh Montgomery, Charles Pelham and Sir James Pennyman all refused to "dress" their share of the river, and appointed an attorney to deny their liability, a step which the Court regarded as being "to the great harm of divers subjects and to the bad example of all other delinquents."

The problems connected with inland drains reflect in miniature those of the River Hull. In general, liability rested on frontagers, but though the Court was fond of the dictum "*qui sentit commodum sentire debet onus*" the principle did not always hold. Prescription, evidence of immemorial usage, could be held as a ground for liability. Similarly "*ratione tenurae*," liability through tenure of land, was not unknown, sometimes where the land in question could derive no benefit. These, however, applied only in exceptional cases, and for the maintenance of drains "frontage" and "greatest benefit" were the normal guiding principles. The Court could exonerate the individual from liability, or on the other hand it could enforce liability by executing the work and charging the delinquent, but its capacity to undertake new work was never explicit till 1833,¹ by which time much of the necessary work had been tackled by other bodies. The Court's main function in internal drainage as well as in coast defence was maintenance. Private individuals might improve the drainage of their own estates, or, like Mr. Snow in 1671, bring to the Court schemes for "draineing of parte of Holderness"; but the Court confined its work to enforcing maintenance and issuing orders for the opening and shutting of sluices or the diversion of water to this or that outlet.

The normal procedure against delinquents was a process known as "traverse." The defect was presented in Court and the defaulter named by the jury who had been over the ground. The defaulter was then informed of the presentment against him by the constable of his parish and warned that he must execute the work or be amerced. His alternative was to traverse the presentment and put himself on his country, whereupon the sheriff summoned a traverse jury and the case was determined at a subsequent sitting of the Court. The judgment and decree were entered upon the Court's records and did not admit of further traverse. The only

¹ 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 22. This power was extended by 24 and 25 Vict., c. 133 (1861).

remedy against such a decision was by means of a writ of error such as a "mandamus" or a "certiorari." The whole system was revised in 1861, when the presentment by jury became optional, and appeal might be made to Quarter Sessions.¹

Fines levied by the Court were estreated into the Court of Exchequer to be collected as debts owing to the Crown. From the earliest days of the Court payment of fines was enforced when necessary by distress. Two indentures, dated 1648, relate to the sale of land belonging to individuals who had refused to contribute to the repair of Drypool banks. In 1717 the constable of Paull executed a warrant against Leonard Burgh, involving the seizure of 25 sheep, 2 mares, 2 foals, and 2 fillies. An interesting sidelight is thrown on the growth of Sunk Island by a writ of 1745 directing the constable of Weeton to seize goods of Robert Waslin, yeoman, of Sunk Island, who refused to contribute to a new bank there.

So far we have considered works maintained under the jurisdiction of the Court by individuals or townships. In such cases no rating or taxing was necessary, except parochial rates which could be levied and collected by the bylawmen or other appropriate officials. From time to time it became necessary to repair expensive works, particularly clows and sluices, from which the whole level might benefit, and for which no single proprietor or township could reasonably be held responsible. The question of maintaining clows was submitted for counsel's opinion in 1710, when Edward Barnard advised the Court that though a private individual may erect the clow the level should maintain it. A few years later Keyingham Clow was defective, and it was found that a customary arrangement existed whereby "Mr. Constable repairs, but the Levell rebuilds." No such arrangement existed for Foredyke Clow, which, from the Middle Ages, was the main outlet from middle Holderness to the River Hull. In the opening years of the eighteenth century two rates were levied on 6,365 acres, once for the repair and once for the reconstruction of this clow. The repairs involved new oak doors for which Robert Ellerker, millwright, had £80; the reconstruction was met by a rate which yielded £221 15s. 4d. Another object for which rating was effected over a wide area was the maintenance of the seabank, generally called the "Rampier," at Sandley Mere. In 1719, for example, 2,381 acres lying mainly in Roos, Halsham, Burton Pidsea, Keyingham and Burstwick Carr were assessed for this purpose at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per acre. Similarly for raising a keel out of the River Hull the Court rated 9,750 acres at 1d. per acre.

¹ 24 and 25 Vict., c. 133.

To meet administrative charges a rate was levied on the whole of the lowlands benefiting from the Court's operations. The extent of this lowland area varied a little, but was generally in the region of 13,000 to 14,000 acres, of which only about 1,500 lay outside Holderness. Of the ratable area in Holderness more than 1,000 acres were in Leven and from 500 to 1,000 in Sutton, Halsham and Wawne. This administrative rate was normally associated with the "sueing out" of a new commission, which in 1699 involved legal charges of £16 or so, but it also covered the day to day expenses of the Court, clerk's salary, fees to commissioners, and so forth.

The method of assessment varied a little, but was generally based purely on area. Neither ability to pay nor value of land were ever taken into account, but there are a few evidences of differentiation between arable and common and between open and enclosed land. A Preston assessment of 1700 was at the rate of 42s. per oxgang (21 acres) of open land and 4s. per acre of enclosed. A rate for the erection of a new jetty at Weeton in 1729 was £1 6s. per acre on the "marsh," 12s. 6d. on the "wheat-holme" and 12s. 6d. on the "marr." Similarly degrees of benefit were sometimes recognised, as in 1638, when the "clow near the mouth of the Humber" on Keyingham Fleet had to be rebuilt at an expense of £170, which was levied at two rates, the larger on 2,444 acres which received direct benefit, and the smaller on 333 acres which also received some help. This method of differential rating developed to a greater extent in the nineteenth century when it became customary to levy different rates even for administrative expenses, one on lands benefiting from drains alone, and the other on lands benefiting from both drains and embankments.¹

It is clear that the policy of the Court was lacking in initiative, but its conservatism had the virtue of being cheap. Except for administrative expenses, which were slight, it never levied general drainage rates, and the money raised from particular areas was always devoted to specific objects. From the time of Charles II onward enthusiasts were repeatedly bringing forward plans for more effective drainage, especially for the middle and lower River Hull Valley which was notoriously bad, but it seems that considerations of economy induced the owners to tolerate the Court's attempts to maintain the *status quo*, whilst the Fens, the Ancholme Valley and the Isle of Axholme all embarked on progressive but expensive drainage operations.

¹ Final Report of Royal Commission on Coast Erosion (1911), p. 108.

RECORDS RELATING TO A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION.

By J. W. WALKER, O.B.E., F.S.A.

In view of the recent publication of Sir Thomas Lawson-Tancred's *Records of a Yorkshire Manor*, it has seemed worth while to supplement it by the publication of some material relating to the Aldborough Parliamentary Elections of the seventeenth century which is among the manuscripts at Hackness Hall, which have been kindly lent by Lord Derwent for transcription.

1. An Indenture, dated April 3, 1660, giving the names of eight out of nine Burgesses who were entitled to vote at a Parliamentary Election for Aldborough, when Solomon Swale of Swale Hall was elected.
2. A writ for election to Parliament in 1450-51, when Sir John Sayvell and Sir John Melton, knights, were returned as members for the county, and two burgesses, George Topclyff and Thomas Denton, for the borough of Scarborough.
Names of members elected for Aldborough, 1660-1681.
3. Sir Thomas Mere's Reports from the Committee of the House of Parliament on the Validity of the elections for Aldborough in 1675, and again in 1679.
4. A letter dated from Boroughbridge March 1, 1689-90, from James to John Vanderbendie, regarding the election of Sir Michael Wentworth and Christopher Tancred, Esq.
5. Indenture dated February 8, 1690-1, between John Elley, bailiff of the borough of Aldborough, and the burgesses said to be entitled to vote at the election when Sir Michael Wentworth and Christopher Tancred were elected.
6. Instruction to Counsel regarding a petition against the return of Sir Michael Wentworth and Christopher Tankred, Esq., by the Rt. Hon. Henry Boyle and John Vanderbendie, Esqrs.

Aldborough

1660

This Indenture made the third day of Aprill in the yeare of oure Lorde God one thousand six hundred and sixty

Betweene Robert Walters Esq^r high Sherriffe of the County of Yorke of the one party. And George English gent Arthur Smithson

Thomas Sutton James Dickinson William Dove Richard Smithson Thomas Smithson and Peter Scruton being the Burgesses of the Burrow of Aldbrough of the other party: Witnesseth that By vertue of a precept from the saide Sherriffe to the saide Burgesses grounded upon a writt from the Keepers of the Libertyes of England by Authority of Parliament to the saide Sherriffe directed for the Electinge and Chuseinge of two Burgesses of the saide Burrow of the most discreete and sufficient, accordinge to the forme of the statutes thereupon made and provided; for Certaine greate and weighty affaires Concerninge ye saide Keepers of ye Libertyes of England by Authority of Parliament for the good and safety of the Church and Comon Wealth to be at the parliament to be holden at Westminster ye five and twenty Day of Aprill Instant.

The saide Burgesses of the Burrow aforesaide with the whole assent and Consent of the rest of the Burgesses there have made Choyse and Election of Solomon Swale of Swale hall in the said Countie of Yorke Esquire and Frauncis Bosvile of Ribston in the said Countie of Yorke Esq^{re} to be Burgesses of the Burrow of Aldbrough afores^d givinge and grantinge to the aforesaide two Burgesses full and sufficient power for themselves and the whole Burrow aforesaide to doe and Consent unto those things which at the parliament in the aforesaide writt contayned By the Comon Counsell of the Comon Wealth by Gods Blessinge shall happen to be ordayned aboute ye affaires in the saide writt specified: In witness whereof the partyes first above named to these present Indentures have Interchangeably sett to Their hands and seales the day and yeare first abovewritten

By the Sherriffe

Ex Bundell Briūm Summocoñis Part
de Anno 29 H. 6. (1450-51)

for election of members for a Parlt to meet at Westm^r on the feast of S^t Leonard

A Writt directed Vic. Ebor. whereupon James Pickering Esq^{re} returnes S^r John Sayvell and S^r John Melton Jun^r Knts for the County and Two Burgesses for the Burough of Scardeburg, viz. George Topclyff and Thomas Denton and then makes the further returne ut sequitur.

Et ulterius Ego dictus Vicecom̃ respondeo qd. nulla est Civitas nec plures Sunt Burgi in Com. Ebor. unde aliqui Civis Sen plures Burgenses ad Parliamentum pdictum venire facere possum

Convenit cum Recordo quoad

Exiatur p

Wi. Petyt

Tho: Styver.

Aldboro 12 Carol. 2^{di} 1660

1. 4 Ap. 13 Carol 2^{di} 1661. Solomon Swayle & Fran. Goodrick returned p 9

2. 8 Nov. 25 Car. 2^{di} 1673. Jn^o Ramsden Sheriffe Returned in place of Fran. Goodrick. Ro. Benson Ar. p 17.
3. 12 June 30 Car. 2^{di} 1678. Godfrey Copley Barr^t Sheriffe in place of Solomon Swayle chose Rushworth Wentworth Esq^e p 19
4. 28 Feb. 31 Car. 2^{di} 1679 Richard Shutlworth Sheriffe, Peter Forster Bailiffe chose Godfrey Copley & Henry Addington [*sic*; should be Arthington] p 43
5. 25 Aug^t 31 Car. 2^{di} 1679. Richard Shuttleworth Sheriffe Peter Forster Bailiffe chose Bryan Stapylton & Godfrey Copley Barr^{ts} p 50
6. 19 Febr. 33 Car. 2^{di} 1681. Rich^d Graham Sheriffe Peter Forster Bailiffe chose Godfrey Copley & Jn^o Reresbie p 40

Aldborough.

Sabati 24 April 1675

Sr Thomas Meres Reports from the Committee of Ellecçons and Priveledges the matter of the Returne for the Burrough of Alborrough And the State of the Evidence thereupon and two Resolves agreed by the Committee which he read in his place and afterwards Delivered the same in at the Clerk's Table w^{ch} were upon the Question Severally agreed to

Resolved &c:

That Mr Benson is not well Returned as a Member to sitt in Parliament for the Burrough of Alborough

Resolved &c:

That Sr John Reresby is well returned to Serve as a Member in Parliament for the Burrough of Albrough

Jovis 15^o

Jovis 15^o die May 1679

Sr Thomas Meres Reports from ye Committee of Priviledges and Ellecçon that the Committee had taken into Consideration the matter touching ye Ellecçon for the Burrough of Aldbrough in the County of Yorke And that it appeared to the Committee that Sr John Reresby had about 19 of the Inhabitants paying Scott and Lott who voted for him in the said Ellecçon and Sr Godfrey Copley had about 24 of the Inhabitants paying Scott and Lott, And that thereupon the Committee had agreed upon these Resolves, to be reported to the house which he read in his place and afterwards delivered the same in at the Clerk's Table where the Same were againe read and are as followeth. Vizt.

Resolved &c.

That all ye Inhabitants of the Burrough of Aldborough in the County of Yorke paying Scott and Lott have only Right to vote in Electing Members of Parliament for the said Burrough

Resolved

That Sr John Reresby is not duely Ellected to serve in this present Parliament for ye Burrough of Aldborough in the County of Yorke

Resolved &

That S^r Godfrey Copley is duely Ellected to serve in this present Parliament for the Burrough of Aldborough in the County of Yorke.

Resolved &c.

That this house doth agree with the Committee that all the Inhabitants of the Burrough of Aldborough in the Countye of Yorke paying Scott and Lott haveing only Right to vote in Electing Members for the said Burrough

Resolved &c

That this house doth agree with ye Committee in ye above Resolutions & Ordered

That y^e Clerkes of ye Crowne doe attend Tomorrow morneing to take off the Indenture of S^r John Reresby and affix the Indenture of S^r Godfrey Copley to the Returne for the Burrough of Aldborough in the County of Yorke

S^r Burroug Bridge. First March 8 1689/90

I have by the stay of the post obtained a little more tyme to Informe you more fully touching your Election at Aldborrough, the manner being thus I had proposed y^r selfe & another Worthy Gent for y^r partner, but my Lord Clifford's Agent M^r Holden heareing of my design to try the Right of ye. 9. at Aldborrough; on Wednesday last writ me a Letter frome Narsborrough desiring I would Accept of M^r Henry Boyle my Lord Clifford's son for my partner. And Considering my Lord Clifford's Interest thought M^r Boyle might be a fitt partner for you to try the Right of the Nyne. I therefore sent for M^r Holden & accepted of M^r Boyle. I was hard prest by the Electors & M^r Holden to stand for one myselfe, but such is my Service for you yt I waved All tho' with some difficulty; I desire you will finde out M^r Boyle & informe him how things are in this affaire; & endeavour to prepare y^r Interest in ye House; & my Assistance shall not be wanting. S^r Michael Wentworth & Cap^t Tankard y^t are elected by the Commonaltie are men of noe Interest either here or in the House. The Right of Election is certainly in ye 9 & there is noe feare of yo^r comeing into ye House, If you wayte on S^r Henry Goodrick & desire his assistance he can Informe you fully herein; I am in hope to get y^r Indenture Returned by the Sherriffe, and then you will be ye sitting Member, have but the same heart in this Matter to try It, as I have had to bring It to this perfection; And there's no doubt but all will doe well; the Charge of trying will be Inconsiderable, & in Case you Winn It (as there's noe Doubt but you will) you are fixt Dureing Life; I am Hastening to London, To Morrow I Leave this Place; M^r Vane's Election just comeing on I must Subscribe

S^r Yo^r very Humble Servant
James [?]

To John Vanderbendie Esq^r att
his House in ye pell mell neare
St James's Pell Mell, London

1690

Hec Indentura It̃a vicesimo octavo die Februarii Anno Regni Dñi Willielmi tertii & Dñe Marie sc̃de dei gra. Angl. Scot. Franc. Hibñie Regis & Regine fidei Defensor. &c. secundo. Int. Joñem Elley Bañm Burgi de Aldbrough in Com. Ebor. ex una parte Et Robert Screwton Robert Simpson Richard Fall Chris. Fall Robert Smithson Chris. Maltas Robert Browne Jun^r Richard Thompson Jun. James Simpson Peter Thoresby Robert Browne Sen. Thomas Watson Richard Dove John Fall Thomas Wilkinson Gen. Andrew Wilkinson Arm. Thomas Screwton sen. Michael Simpson Richard Smithson Richard Screwton Thomas Thompson George Lowson William Screwton John Erle William Fall Richard Marke Robert Myers Thomas Foster Peter Foster John Screwton Thomas Surr Robert Hodgson William Vittye Thomas Hutton Thomas Smithson Richard Surr Thomas Atkinson Robert Simpson Jun^r John English Peter Hill Richard Surr Jun. Edward Steavens John Dichinson sen. William Atkinson Thomas Hill John Rawling Richard Vmpleby George Aldbrough James Maugham Robert Rawling Jun. Thomas Blackburne Richard Pearce Thomas Rawling Richard Middlebrough Richard Blackburne William Dickson John Ellay & Richard Cariss Burgenses Burgi de Aldbrough in Com. Ebor dict. Et alios Burgenses ejusdem Burgi existeñ majorem partem Burgensiũ Burgi predict. tunc ibñ present ex altera parte Testatur qđ virtute Iris Dñi Regis & Dñe Regine Com. Ebor. direct per virtute Warranti inde et prefat, fact et prefat Ballivo Burgi prcť direct p̃ eligendũ duoř Burgensiũ p̃ Burgo prđ formam et officium Iris et Warranti pđt. fore ad Parliament dict Dñi Regis et Dñe Regine tenend. apud Civitat suam Westm^r vicesimo die Martii p̃ futur prefat. Burgenses uno animo assensu et consensu apud Burgum de Aldbrough predt. Eligerunt Michaellem Wentworth Mil. et Christophorum Tankred Armigerum Burgenses ad deservendũ in Parliament prđ p̃ Burgo prđ. Et dederunt et concessor. eisdem Burgensibus plenam et potestat p̃ se et Civitate Burgi p̃dict. ad faciendũ et consentiendũ hiis que in eodem Parliament (ffavente dño) contingerint ordinarii formam et Iris & Warranti pdict. In Cujus rei testimonium partes pđ Sigilla sua hiis presentibus alternatim apposuer. die et anno supradict

[Signatures or marks of all the above are appended.]

Aldborough Election Petition, 1690.

The R ^t Hono ^{ble} Henry Boyle Esq ^r	} p̃ Select Number of Free Burgesses	} Upon a double
John Vandenbemdie Esq ^r		
[In margin: p̃ Select Number]		
S ^r Michael Wentworth	} p̃ the Populace	} Returne for Aldborough in Yorkshire
Chr. Tankred Esq ^r		

That the Burrough of Aldburgh is an Antient Burrough by Prescription and hath sent two Burgesses to Parliament time out of mind, who were alwayes Chosen by the Select Burgage tenures

without any Presence of the Populace till the 25 Car. 2^{di} in the Case between Reresby and Benson when 'twas adjudged agst the Populace.

There are 9 Burgage Tenures, Viz.

Call	{	1 Tho. Sutton by descent from his Ancestors	}
M ^r Sutton		2 Will ^m Dove purchases from the Tancreds	
M ^r Hardcastle		3 John Dickenson descended from his Ancestors	
M ^r Hamerton		4 Geo. Hamerton { descended, formerly Aldbrough's and purchased by his Father	
		5 Arthur Smithson descended	
		6 Richard Jacques { by descent formerly belonging to the Albrough's & purchased by Edward Thompson who Mortgaged to Smithson & sold to S ^r John Reresby	
		or Sir Will ^m Reresby	
		7 George English descended	
		8 Robert Turton { purchased by Scrutton of Menell now held in right of his wife Scrutton's grandchild.	
		9 Tho. Applegarth { formerly Aldborough's & purchased by Fall & bought of him	

That upon the Elecion for Burgesses to Serve in this present Parliament M^r Boyle and M^r Vandenbendie had the Majority of those lawful votes notwithstanding which S^r Michael Wentworth and M^r Tancred are retorned likewise by the populace to their prejudice and Contrary to the rights and Usage of the said Burrough.

The Right of the said Burgage tenures does Appeare by the Constant Retornes of Members from that Burrough which are now upon Record to be found (the Records from Hen. 6 to the beginning of Queen Elizabeth being imbezled or lost) and the Practice of the said Burrough Does Appeare by the Records as follows. Viz.

- 14 Eliz (1572) The Burrough returnes Richard Bonny (Bunny) & Richard Tempest Esq^{rs} which Retorne is made by 5 of the said Burgesses only vide Ind^r marked A.
- 9 March 1 Jac. 1. (1603) The Burgesses were elected & retorned by 7 of the Old Burgagers. vide Ind^r marked B.
- 21 Jac. 1. (1623/4) Christopher Wandesford and John Carvill elected and retorned by 7 vide Ind^r marked C.
- 1 Car. 1 (1625/6) Richard Aldburgh and John Carvill were Elected and Retorned by 11, viz the 9 old Burgage Tennants & the Bayliffe and Another who lives in part of one of the Old Burgage Houses being intruded vide Ind^r marked No. 1.

- 3 Car. 1 (1627/8) Henry Darley & Robert Stapleton Esq^{rs}
Elected and returned by 8 Burgagers & the
Bayliffe vide Ind^r marked D.
- 15 Car. 1. (1639/40) Richard Aldburgh and Brian Palmes Esq^{rs}
Elected and returned by the 9
vide Ind^r marked E.
- 1660 Solomon Swayle & Francis Goodricke Elected & returned
by 8 of ye 9, this being y^e parliament w^{ch} brought in ye
late K. Charles y^e 2^d vide Ind^r marked F
- 13 Car. 2. (1661) Sir Solomon Swale Francis Goodricke Esq^r
Elected and returned by the 9
vide Ind^r marked G
- 25 Car. 2. (1673) Sir John Reresby in the Place of Francis Good-
ricke Elected and returned by 5 of the old
Burgagers vide Ind^r marked H
- Eod. Tempore Mr Robert Benson returned by the Populace
with the Mannor Bayliffe which is the first
time any Mannor Bayliffe appeared in which is
the other 4 of the 9. vide Ind^r marked H
- 24 Ap. 1679 Which Retorne being then heard before a
Comittee of the House of Commons, the Matter
was determined in favour of S^r John Reresby
who was Elected by the Majority of the Select
Number. vide Ind^r marked I
- Here bring in another objection J F C^r
Presid^{ts} that may be brought for the Populace
- 30 Car. 2 (1678) The Populace Choose Mr Wentworth in the
Roome of S^r Solomon Swale, Foster the Mannor
Bayliffe of S^r Michael Wentworth heading
them where were 4 of the 9
vide Ind^r marked K
- Note this was the first inroad made upon the
Select Number without Contest.
- 31 Car 2. Febr^{ry} (1679) S^r Godfrey Copley & Henry Ardington
pro Peter Foster Bayliffe & the Populace
vide Ind^r M
- S^r Jn^o Reresby at first with Ardington by
Select Number but upon the Present^t of Copley
throwne out
- 31 Car 2 (1679) Sir Brian Stapleton S^r Godfrey Copley Barr^{ts}
pro Foster Bailiffe & ye Populace
vide Ind^r L
- 33 Car 2. (1681) S^r Godfrey Copley & S^r John Reresby pro
Oxford Parliament pro Foster Bayliffe & the
Populace Ind^r N.

Perhaps they may Show an Ind^r wherein S^r Godfrey Copley was returned about anno 1679. That then S^r John Reresby was alsoe returned that thereon a Contest was between them and Severall Votes in favour of the Scott and Lott Men, from the Journalls of the House. [*In margin*: Pray let this Article be well examined whether so or no.]

In answer to which we say Each of those were Chose by the Populace and in No Sorte concernes the right between the Select Burgers and the Populace.

Proofes

To prove the Right of Election in the 9 time out of Mind see the Records & Call	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>S^r Hen. Goodrick</td> <td rowspan="5">} Members of ye house</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mr Stockdale</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mr Waller of Yorke</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2 Mr Hardcastle</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1 Mr Sutton</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>3 Mr Hickinge</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>4 Mr Lumley</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	S ^r Hen. Goodrick	} Members of ye house	Mr Stockdale	Mr Waller of Yorke	2 Mr Hardcastle	1 Mr Sutton		3 Mr Hickinge			4 Mr Lumley	
S ^r Hen. Goodrick	} Members of ye house												
Mr Stockdale													
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2 Mr Hardcastle													
1 Mr Sutton													
	3 Mr Hickinge												
	4 Mr Lumley												

To prove the Severall Ind ^{rs} Call	Tho. Styver
----------------------------------------------	-------------

To prove those to be the Burgage Houses and Burgagers	} Mr Tho. Sutton
-------------------------------------------------------	------------------

To prove Mr Boyle and Mr Vanderbendie had the Majority of those 9	} Robt Hardcastle
-------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------

To prove that the Wentworths or any other Freeholder except the 9 never till of late pretend to vote	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>Mr Sutton</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mr Hardcastle</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mr R. Lumley</td> </tr> </table>	Mr Sutton	Mr Hardcastle	Mr R. Lumley
Mr Sutton				
Mr Hardcastle				
Mr R. Lumley				

MATTER OF FACT. That the Select Number Severall times Insisted on their Right and would not Joyne with the Populace perticularly att the Election of the Convention on the Prince of Orange's Letter att which tyme they Consulted with S ^r Henry Goodrick (a member of this house) touching their Rights and Priviledges, alledging that in the latter parte of the Reigne of King Charles the Second and in King James' time their Priviledges had been Violated and that on the accession of their present Majesties to the Throne they shall bee restored, S ^r Henry Goodrick very worthily told them the Right was in the Select Burgers and Adding that he advised them to Stand to their Priviledges and principles and that 5 of their Voyces was better than all the Populace to prove w ^{ch} call	} Tho Sutton Mr Robt Hardcastle
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That thereon the Select Burgers would not Unite with the Populace S ^r Mich ^l Wentworth then Courted them very much to Joyne Capt ⁿ Tanckard their Confessed and has often said that the Antient Right was in the Select Burgers to witt the 9 to prove w ^{ch} call	} Tho. Sutton
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------

If the Pretended Election was faire } Tho. Sutton was present
for Sir Mich^l Wentworth and Captⁿ } at the delivery of the 2^{li}
Tanckard what moneys was given and, } & Rob^t Smithson told
to whome was not the Summe of 2^{li} } him they had 3^{li} before
given by whome and to whome &c. } delivered by S^r Mich^l &
aske if 'twas to Elley the pretended } Captⁿ Tanckred them-
Bayliffe into his owne hands } selves

Objeccon 1st. In Case Wentworth and Tanckard alleadge that the Ellecon is more proper and faire in the Populace than in a Select Number of 9 who are with more Ease Corrupted and Subject to Bribery

Answer. That that of the Populace is a fallacie for that S^r Mich^l Wentworth has ye name of a Manor and turns of tenants at pleasure and greives others in his Courts that will not vote for him, and Captⁿ Tanckard has in y^e Towne 40^{li} per Ann. which he letts to 25 Tennants to make Voyces and turnes out those that will not vote for him, as has been their practice soe that if y^e antient Method of 9 be vacated Instead of the Empty sound of the Populace this but 2 Persons the Landlords by such Methods that Elects which is hoped the Wisdom of this house will not allow &c.

Questions to be askt the Wittnesses on the other side.

S ^r Mich ^l Wentworth & Capt ⁿ Tanckard	} Witnesses	{ ask him if he was once in this place before the Committee for the Select Number of freeburgers, and if he knowes if the Right be in them or in ye Populace &c.
Parson Morrish		

Peter Forster the Mannor Bayliffe of Coppyhold Mannor	} Ask him what Bayliffe he is. Whether the Mannor or Bur- rough Bayliffe, and who Elected and Constituted him a Bayliffe. Whether S ^r Mich ^l Wentworth or the Populace. If he be now ye Bayliffe of Mannor or the Burrough and w ^{ch} , how long he has beene Bayliffe and when Elected and Whether any till Elley the Bayliffe of the Popu- lace offered to turne him out, and how he now Comes to turne him out, and if the Foster's title to his office be not as good as at the first and the Same. The Consequence then will be that Elley is noe Bayliffe and the whole is a trick &c.
Competitive Evidences	
Parson Morrish—ask him as above	
Peter Forster S ^r Mich Wentworth	
Ba ^{ll} of Man ^r	
Tho. Smithson Sick on the Road	
Chris. Mortus an Old Dotard will soon be out of his Road	}
Rob ^t Smithson Aske hime if rec ^d not 3 ^{li} as a grat- uity for this Ser- vice.	
Elley the Pretender Bayliffe. Aske him if he rec ^d not a gratuity of 40 ^s and of whom	

Matthew Husband. Steward to old
Mr Wentworth. A Cunning Blade.

If he is not the Bayliffe as well
of the Mannor for Burrowbrig
as for Aldborough and as much
for one place as the other, and
if he ever pretended to bee
Bayliffe for the Burrough of
Burrowbrigg, Why then doe
you pretend for Aldborough
the Case being ye same.

EXCAVATIONS AT EASTBURN, EAST YORKSHIRE.

By T. SHEPPARD, M.Sc., F.G.S., F.S.A. Scot.

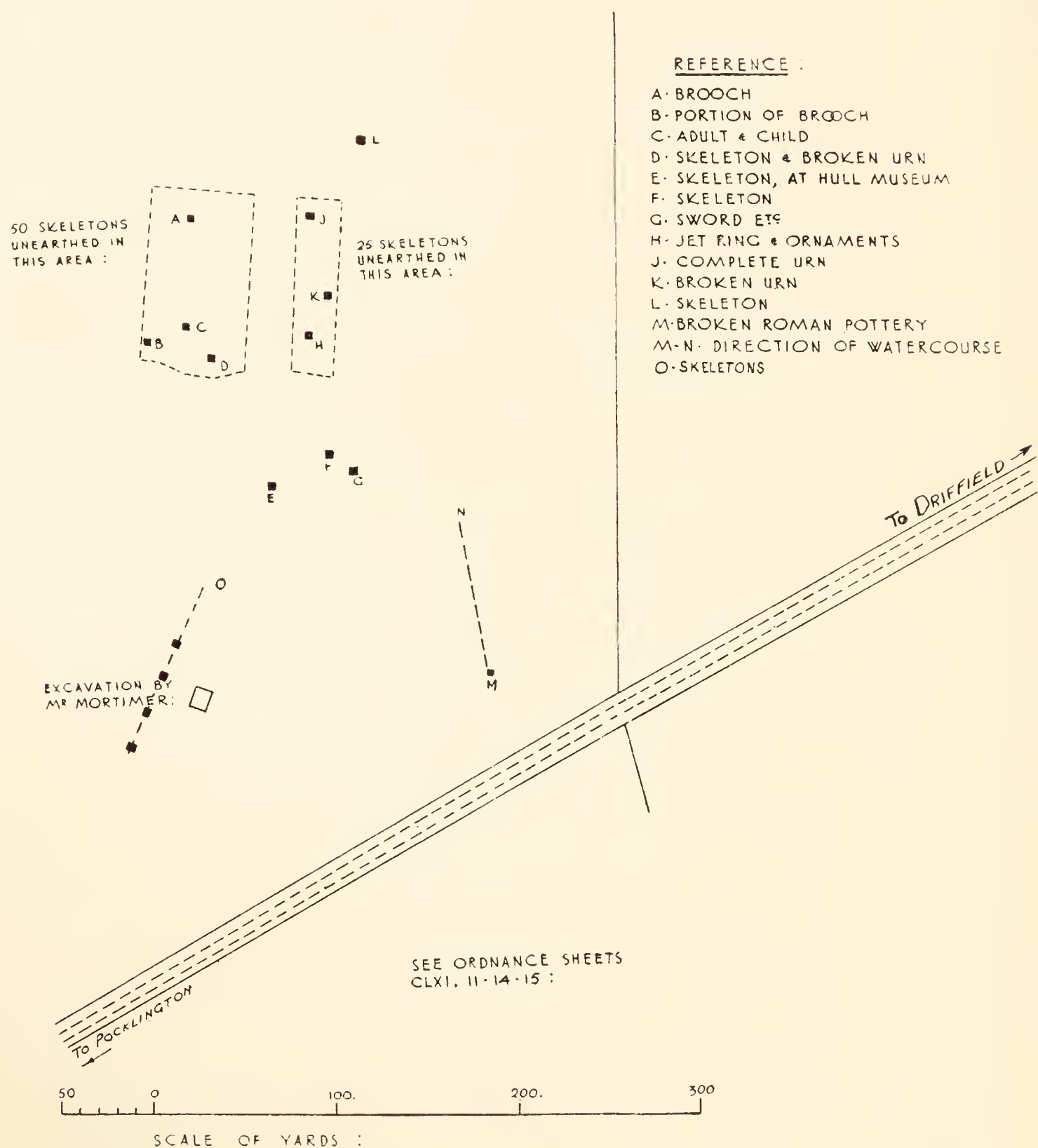
For some time excavations have been taking place on the Yorkshire Wolds near Driffeld, in connection with new aerodromes.

Through the kindness of the officers in charge, and with the permission of Captain A. V. Snook of the Air Ministry Directorate of Works, Lincoln, the Director of the Hull Museum has had the privilege of visiting the site and obtaining the various relics which have now officially been handed over by the Air Ministry Headquarters in London. In addition to the above the present writer is indebted to Mr. C. S. Berridge and to various helpers on the ground, for their assistance in retrieving some of the specimens obtained.

The first skeletons were found soon after the excavations started. Large square holes had been made to receive the concrete foundations for the supports of the building. A more or less complete skeleton occurred in each of the four excavations, which seemed to be made on an old line of a filled-in trench, as the dark material of this extended through them all (see O on plan). In each case not a single fragment of pottery or metal was found; consequently their age was doubtful. One particularly perfect skull is of the Iron Age type.

EARLY IRON AGE REMAINS AT EASTBURN.

Of the Early Iron Age period, which immediately precedes and possibly over-laps the Roman occupation, several interesting objects have been found. The Iron Age people buried their dead in cemeteries, and each burial was under a small mound, frequently obliterated by agricultural operations, though occasionally their appearance can be detected on the surface. These mounds, usually circular, ten feet in diameter, varied from a few inches to a couple of feet in height. Unlike those of the Bronze Age, these Iron Age tumuli are placed close together, in groups, which have been examined by Mortimer and others at Scarborough, Arras, Hessleskew and Driffeld, the last named being known by the name of Danes' Graves.



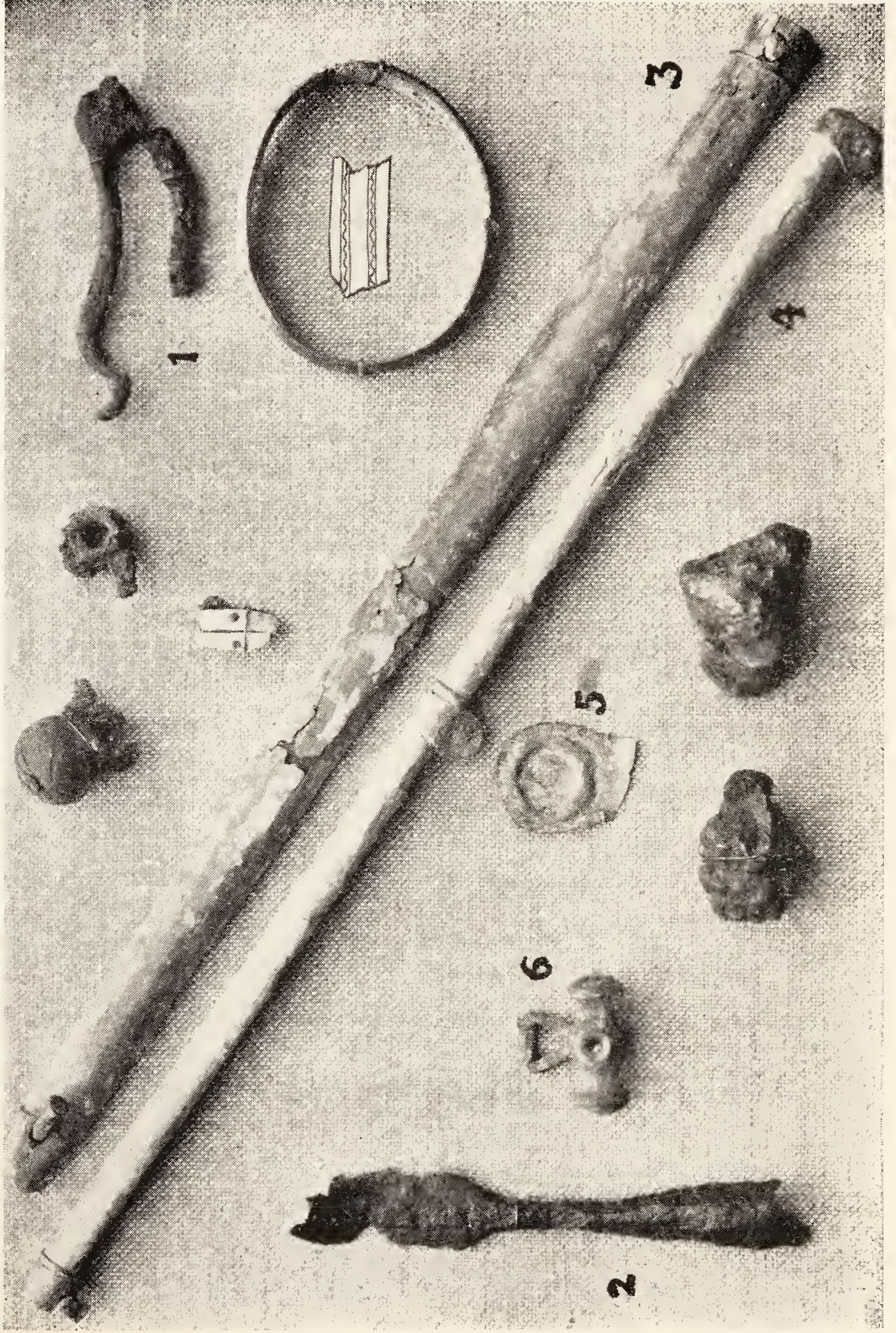


PLATE I—IRON AGE RELICS, EASTBURN

Mortimer records¹ that "These 'Danes' Graves' closely resemble in many ways the group of about 200 small barrows which once existed at Arras, near Market Weighton, in which the remains of three chariots were found. They also resemble the group of not fewer than 170 small mounds in Scarborough Park, near Beverley. Six small mounds of the Scarborough group were opened by the writer in 1895, and though no instrument or ornament was found, portions of two skulls were obtained from the almost totally decayed bodies found in this group of barrows. These skulls are of a decidedly long type, clearly indicating their racial kinship with the people who buried at the 'Danes' Graves' and in the Arras group of barrows, all of which are markedly dolichocephalic, *i.e.* long-headed."

In the construction of one of the hangars at Eastburn Aerodrome, near Driffeld, it was necessary to level a part of the area by taking off a thin layer of surface soil, and in this way 50 graves were exposed (see plan).

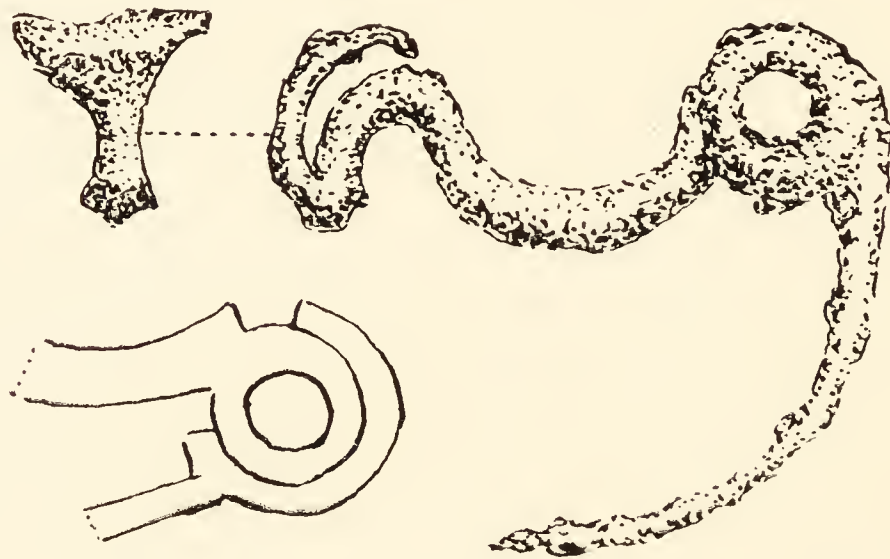
When these were examined just before being covered up by concrete, each tumulus was clearly indicated in the very white chalk gravel by a circle, representing a slight trench on the outside of the mound, and a dark, usually squarish place in the centre, 3 ft. or 4 ft. across, which contained a skeleton. The time allowed for examining these graves did not enable us to do more than empty them, rather hurriedly; but the whole collection was remarkable for the fact that while each grave contained a skeleton, and occasionally two, the bones were so decomposed and fragmentary that, excepting in about three instances, there was not sufficient of the skull to remove for further examination.

Our experience was similar to that of Mortimer, when he examined the Iron Age burials at Scarborough, etc., namely, "That in not a single instance was a fragment of pottery or iron associated with the burials," and in both cases "the skeletons were too far decayed to be of any scientific value." Unlike Mortimer, however, among these burials we did find a single iron brooch or fibula, of a typical Iron Age type, known as the "involute" or "Beckley" (see Plate I, Fig. 1). "The distinguishing features of the type are that the bow curves inwards, instead of outwards as is usual, and that in place of a spring or ordinary form of hinge, there are two rings, one revolving over the other. This specimen, being of iron, is much rusted, but the inner ring seems to have been grooved and to have formed the head of the bow; while the

¹ Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1897, p. 6.

outer ring was incomplete, or penannular, and formed the head of the pin, and worked on the groove on the inner ring." This description (taken from a note on "Some Brooches from Wiltshire," by Mrs. M. E. Cunnington, in *Man* for September, 1921¹) might equally apply to our example. Mrs. Cunnington points out that very few brooches of this type have been recorded, one being found by Canon Greenwell in the Danes' Graves in Yorkshire, another at Cambridge, two in Oxford, one at Beckley, and another at Woodeaton.

Sir Arthur Evans considers that brooches of this type probably date from about 300 B.C., and would seem to be unknown on the Continent. In the brooch from the Danes' Graves the bow ends in what is practically an open-work catch plate, cast in one piece with the bow.



Beckley type of Brooch from Wiltshire.¹

The remains of another brooch of a similar type were brought to us, of which the circular hinge remains, and also the opposite end (Plate I, Fig. 1) decorated with a large bead-like ball of hard material, resembling red glass, which has been fastened to the iron brooch by a bronze rivet, still in position, the circular head of which is two-fifths of an inch in diameter, and seems to be decorated on the upper surface by three incisions, forming a triangle. Dr. A. F. Hallimond, of H.M. Geological Survey, says "The knob of opaque red glass is of high refractive index (1.64), containing numerous microlites to which the red colour is due. It is probably similar to the red glasses made at the present day, containing, I think, copper. The knob is attached by a metal stem, the head of which is apparently of copper, though the relics at the base

¹ We are permitted to reproduce of brooch which appeared with this the illustration of the Beckley type article in *Man*.



PLATE II—IRON AGE BURIAL, EASTBURN

are probably entirely iron oxide, and may have been part of an iron object. The copper is well preserved—unusually so for an article of prehistoric date.”

A typical Iron Age earthenware vessel, the upper part of which is missing, was also brought to us (Plate III, Fig. 1). This pot is rather larger than the others from the Danes’ Graves, etc., and though the matrix is similar and has also fragments of flint on the inside, it is so well made that it might almost be fourth century Roman. About half the vessel remains, the upper part having been taken away by the plough. What is left is four inches in height, and has a round flat base $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across.

A year after the above-described excavations were made, other Iron Age burials were found, including a skeleton of a young female in remarkably good condition (Plate II). It is in the characteristic attitude of these Iron Age burials, having the knees drawn up, and we are indebted to the Royal Air Force for a photograph taken before the bones were removed. The skull and lower jaw are perfect, containing a full complement of teeth, the wisdom teeth in each case not having erupted. I had the privilege of seeing this in position, and of removing the remains to Hull.

Three earthenware vessels were also found (Plate III, Figs. 2–4), each accompanying a burial, and these are sufficiently complete to enable a restoration to be made, although the piecing together of the fragments formed a difficulty, slightly overcome by the varying nature of the matrix of each pot. One small vessel (Fig. 2) was complete, and is the only one of its kind found in that condition among the Iron Age burials of East Yorkshire. It is substantially made and has been well-baked, is 4 ins. in height, 4 ins. in the widest part, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across the top, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across the flat base. There is a slight curved depression between the lip and the shoulder, and the vessel seems to have been finished off by the potter scraping the earthenware, before baking, with a flat implement, probably of bone, as the furrows made by this are distinctly shown; and in one place two sharp incisions, made parallel to each other, occur on the shoulder, which may have been made by the finger nails.

The thickness of the vessel results in the base inside being only half the diameter of that outside. The earthenware has been strengthened by including fragments of flint, etc. (though these are hardly visible on the outer surface), but inside they protrude from the pot. Inside this vessel was a complete humerus, or upper foreleg bone, of a pig, a feature which occurs with almost all the

vessels of this period from the Danes' Graves, and elsewhere, in the Mortimer Collection now at Hull.

A second vessel (Fig. 3), of very similar construction, with a smooth outside and coarse grit within, is almost complete, and measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height, 3 ins. across the flat base, and also has an out-turned lip. There are traces of smoothing from top to bottom on the outside, and the same feature is more clearly shown on the inside of the vessel, though probably in this case the process was done by the fingers or finger nails, judging from very fine markings which appear, apparently made by the epidermis.

The third vessel (Fig. 4), the largest of the three, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across the top, 5 ins. in its widest part, and 6 ins. in height, the flat base being 3 ins. across. This has been difficult to piece together, as it was obviously made in the same way as some modern native African vessels are constructed, namely, by forming a long sausage-like piece of clay, which was coiled round and round, and gradually pressed together with the thumbs and fingers as the vessel took shape. The coils of the Eastburn example have slightly parted by disintegration, but are unmistakable. A similar feature has been noticed in food vessels of the Bronze Age, perhaps the most remarkable example being shown in Fig. 376 of Mortimer's *Forty Years' Researches*. (See also Guide to the Mortimer Museum, Fig. 376, and also Abercromby's *Bronze Age Pottery*, Vol. I, Plate XXXIII, Fig. 91.)

The vessel now being described is not so well finished outwardly, and the over-hanging lip has been formed by pressing the clay between the thumb and finger, impressions of these being quite clear. These two vessels each contained the humerus of a pig, one similar to that in the whole vessel; the other must have been a very young animal.

Among the other iron objects found is a leaf-shaped spearhead (Plate I, Fig. 2), the point of which is slightly bent, and it has a socket without a joint. This differs from the Anglo-Saxon spears found on the same site, where the socket is invariably split. This spearhead is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, the leaf-shaped part being $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, the neck being $\frac{3}{16}$ in. across, and the socket $\frac{5}{8}$ in. at the widest part (where, however, it is broken, and was evidently originally longer).

Perhaps the most remarkable object found was an iron sword (Plate IV), much corroded, very similar in type to that figured from Grimthorpe Wold on the frontispiece to Mortimer's book. Its total length is 28 ins., the handle being $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in length, and



PLATE III



PLATE IV (Top) Anglo-Saxon Sword
(Bottom) Iron Age Sword

this has evidently been covered by horn or other similar material, the structure of which is clearly shown. This handle was held in position by an iron rivet on the top, the thin iron extension of the sword going right through the handle, which was broken when handed to us, and showed a metal core. The blade of the sword at the shoulder is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide, and it gradually tapers to a point, without any evidence of a ridge or other ornamentation. When originally found it had, among the oxide of iron, clear traces of a wood sheath with which it was buried, the structure of the wood indicating that it was of a hard close-grained type. A boss of iron rust on each side of the blade suggests the method of attachment of the scabbard to a belt.

On the arm of a female skeleton a bronze bracelet of great beauty was obtained (Plate I). This is of very thick bronze, the bracelet being $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 2 ins. and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, and on the outside it is decorated with two horizontal bands of cable-like design which divide the bracelet into three sections. This seems to be quite unique among Iron Age burials.

From another burial is a bronze tube, 12 ins. in length and about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, which has evidently protected some wood object, in all probability the pommel end of a spear (Plate I, Fig. 3). One massive rivet is still in position, and is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in length, while a smaller rivet, bent, but of a similar type, is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length. This tube is almost identical with the bronze tube from Grimthorpe Wold, near Pocklington, illustrated on the coloured frontispiece to Mortimer's *Forty Years' Researches*.

Another bronze tube, of about the same length, has been held in position by three collars of bronze, bent over the tube, each of which has the bronze rivet still in position (Plate I, Fig. 4). The only object we have of this character at all similar is the clasp to a bag or purse from the Saxon cemetery near Filey, though in that case the bronze tube is much smaller and the fasteners are also smaller.

In one of the Iron Age graves at Eastburn a piece of corroded iron with two pink cylinders $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, each of which had been riveted by a small bronze nail, which still exists, was found (Plate I). This is certainly the portion of a brooch similar to the two already described, and the pieces of pink are doubtless remains of red coral of Mediterranean origin. A similar feature occurred in brooches from Arras and Hessleskew. A flat piece of bronze with an embossed ring is typical of this period, and may be part of an ornament of a shield (Plate I, Fig. 5). It measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 1 in.

Another piece of bronze, beautifully ornamented, is apparently part of a fastener, as there is a triangular loop attached to a cylinder (Plate I, Fig. 6). At each end of the cylinder is a disc of white material, probably meerschaum, which has now become discoloured by the bronze. This is probably the most artistic piece found during the excavations.

The other objects are various pieces of iron pyrites such as occur in the natural state in the chalk, and probably their appearance among the burials is purely accidental, though on the other hand, as Mortimer suggests, there is a possibility they may have been used for "strike-a-lights."

ROMAN REMAINS AT EASTBURN.

In the digging of a trench near the road at Eastburn a section was cut through a dark mass of earth, which was clearly indicated in the white gravel. This was about two yards wide and one yard deep, and it contained a human skeleton and a large quantity of early Roman pottery, almost all of the Iron Age type, though some fragments were undoubtedly made at Throlam, near Holme on Spalding Moor, and are of later date. One piece of Samian Ware occurred. At first it looked as though there was a pit, but subsequent sections cut further in the field show that there is really a trench here, filled with the usual Roman rubbish, including many fragments of pottery, some sufficiently large to form an idea of the original form of the vessel. The site of this is shown on the plan, and Mr. Philip Corder, M.A., F.S.A., of York, has kindly given the following report on some of the pottery fragments submitted to him—

"The group of sherds submitted to me by Mr. Sheppard is described as having been found at Eastburn, East Yorkshire, associated with a burial; but no information is provided as to the nature of this find, its exact spot, nor of any associated objects.

"The sherds consist mostly of crude hand-made jars and dishes of native Iron Age technique, in ware charged either with crystalline sandy particles or with calcitic grit—chalk pebbles or powdered oyster shell. Were it not for a few fragments of vessels in Roman grey ware associated with them, these could not, with any certainty, be attributed to Roman date. The nearest parallel in Yorkshire for an association of this kind is the pottery from the ditches of the early rectangular enclosure at the Langton Villa (*A Roman Villa at Langton, near Malton, E. Yorks.*, Fig. 7, pp.

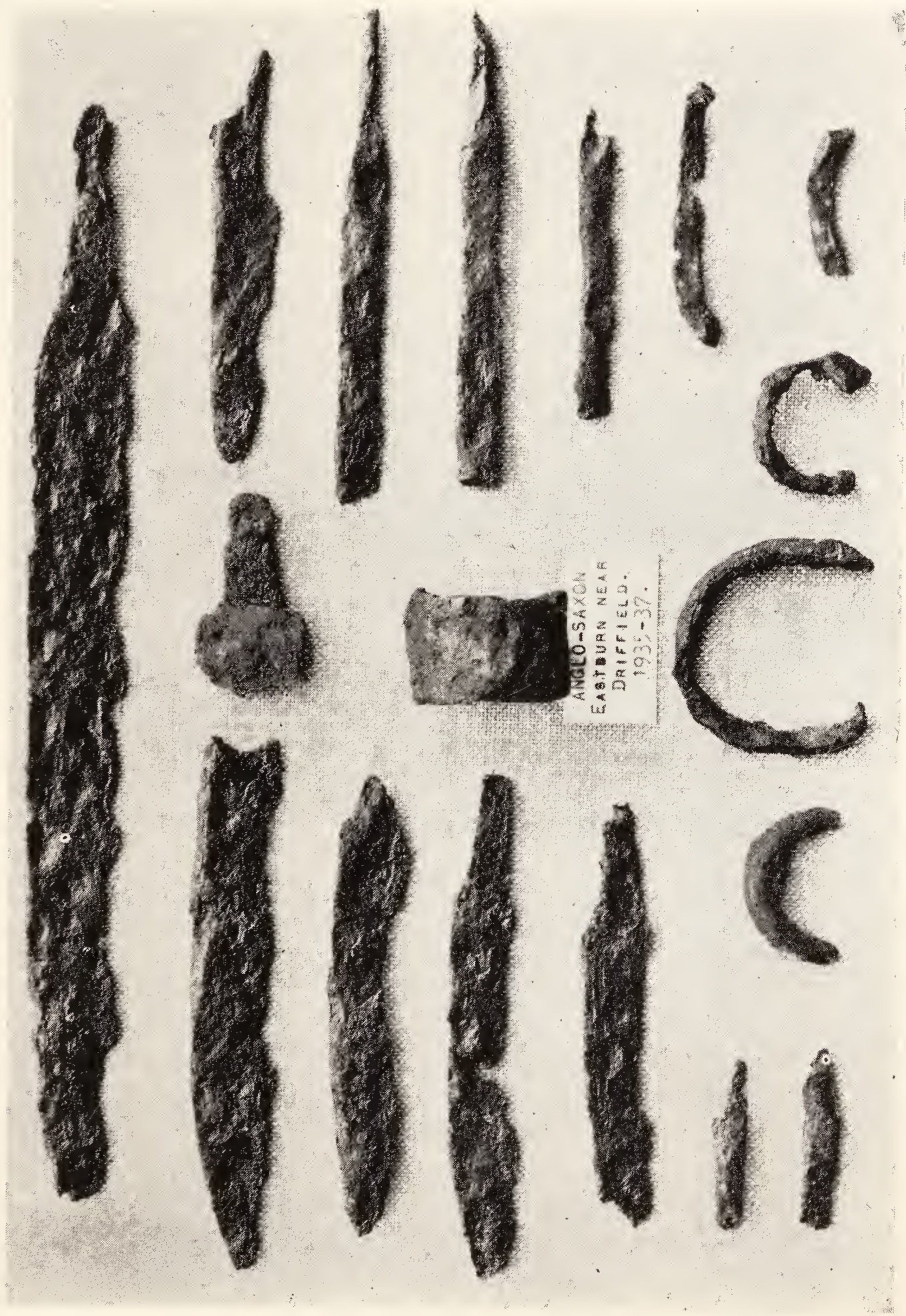


PLATE V

30-33). In this collection a large amount of Iron Age native ware not unlike these Eastburn sherds, was found in association with a little distinctively Roman ware, among which is one type that occurs also at Eastburn. Many resemblances may also be seen, both in form and fabric, between the native ware in the Eastburn Collection, and that from the Lake Dwellings in the Vale of Pickering on the Costa and at Thornton-le-Dale (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. xxx).

" All the vessels show signs of use, the cookpots being 'furred' with lime inside, and often sooted without. The collection is therefore probably from a habitation site and not grave furniture.

" The vessels which are more or less complete are as follows—

" ROMAN GREY WARE.

" 1. Fragment of the upper part of a beaker in hard thin grey ware. In form this resembles Richborough III, 260, dated 50-75 A.D., though it has been probably rather taller. It must in any case be attributed to the latter part of the first century.

" 2. Part of the side, showing the carination, of a carinated bowl in thinnish grey ware, reddish in the break. There is faint trace of a fine lattice pattern above the carination. Two similar bowls occurred in the early ditch at Langton (*Langton*, Fig. 7, pp. 17-18). The type is developed from a Belgic bowl common at Colchester (Colchester Museum Catalogue, Pl. IV, p. 37) and occurs at York, Richborough, Silchester, and Caerleon. It is generally considered Flavian in date. In the group was a fragment of a similar vessel in blue-grey, also showing the carination.

" 3. Dish in hard smoothed grey ware, with rectangular rim, and either a flattish chamfer at the base or, as is more probable, a sagging base. Such a dish has no datable features, but there is nothing in its nature incompatible with a late first century date.

" In addition there were a few indeterminate sherds from the sides of jars in grey ware, some with faint lattice decoration.

" NATIVE WARE.

" 4. Large hand-made dish in ware charged with fine calcitic grit (powdered oyster shell?). The surface is burnished black, and is 'soapy' in texture, but reddish beneath. This ware is of a kind found during the early years of the Roman occupation elsewhere in East Yorkshire.

" 5. So similar as to be probably part of the same dish, but this is incapable of proof, as it is broken off above the junction with the base.

“ 6. Very hard, crude, hand-made jar, varying in colour from pink to black. The fabric is charged with copious fine crystalline grit (*cf. Langton*, Fig. 7, pp. 22, 27, 28). It resembles in form and fabric a jar from the Iron Age site on the Costa (*Y.A.J.*, vol. xxx, Fig. 1, 5d), and others from the neighbouring site at Thornton-le-Dale (*Ibid.*, Fig. 2, pp. 8, 9, 11), dated by Mr. M. R. Hull *c.* 70 A.D.

“ 7. Hand-made jar in black calcite-gritted ware. Diameter uncertain, but large. The form is more ‘ Roman ’ than that of the other vessels, and no parallel occurs in the Langton collection, nor from the Costa and Thornton-le-Dale.

“ 8. Very large heavy hand-made jar. Black in the break, but having a smoothed dark coffee-coloured exterior. The ware is similar in other respects to that of No. 6.

“ 9. Small fragment of the rim of a very crude hand-made jar in similar ware, but with less crystalline grit (*Langton*, Fig. 7, pp. 38–40).

“ 10. Hard black hand-made jar, crudely finished. The base is in similar ware and has been connected with it in the drawing on that account only. It has not the typical Iron Age feature of a roughly fingered projection around the base, so frequent at Langton. For the rim *cf. Langton*, Fig. 7, pp. 31, 37.

“ The collection is not one that can be closely dated, but it probably falls within the closing years of the first century, *c.* 70–*c.* 110 A.D., and indicates a native Iron Age site, whose inhabitants were beginning to use the better Roman ware when they could afford it.”

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS AT EASTBURN.

In addition to the Iron Age and Roman relics already described, some Anglo-Saxon remains have occurred on the Eastburn site. At the north-west corner of the large aerodrome a skeleton was found, which we were enabled to excavate. This was in a particularly good condition, evidently of a male about 35–40 years of age when buried, and under the head was a small fragment of an iron ring. As with most Saxon interments, the burial was at full length, and we obtained all the bones. The other objects of this period were secured by collecting on a dump, which contained the excavated material from various parts of the site, and consequently it is difficult to say precisely where any one object occurred. The dump evidently contained the objects excavated in a Saxon cemetery, where probably at least a dozen graves were disturbed. We are indebted to Mr. R. Pexton for his efforts in gathering these together and handing them over to us.

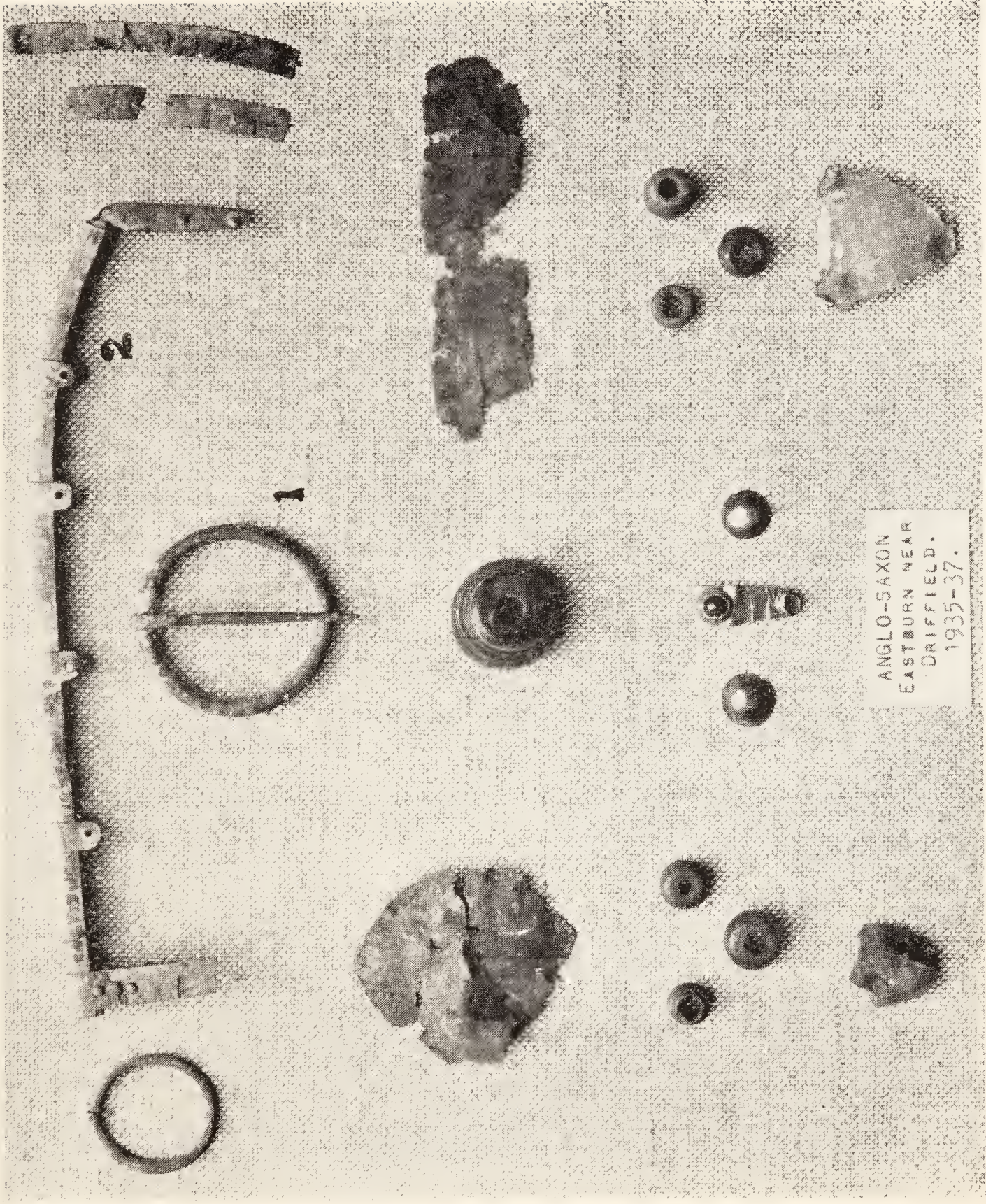


PLATE VI

The principal object is a sword, of unusual length; in fact it is the longest Saxon sword we have from the Wold area (Plate IV). It measures 34 ins. in length and 2 ins. in greatest width. The iron tang for the handle is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long and bears distinct traces of wood, and there are lines in the oxide of iron at the base of the handle, showing that this was decorated. Unfortunately it was in two pieces, but these have now been joined. The blade does not appear to contain any ridges or other ornament, but gradually tapers to a blunt point from the handle. It is sharpened on both sides.

Of special interest are several short knives known as *scram-a-saxes*, from which the Saxons are said to have obtained their name (Plate V). These are very like the blade of an ordinary dinner knife, having a narrowed portion for insertion into the handle, and sharpened at one side only. There are six of these, the longest being just over 9 ins.; another (incomplete) would be 7 ins. when whole, another $5\frac{3}{8}$ ins., the next $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins., another $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins., and the next (incomplete), $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. All have the sharpest edge parallel with the handle. Often accompanying the *scram-a-saxes*, and evidently fitting in the same leather or other case, was a 'sharpener,' which was used in the same way as a present-day butcher sharpens his knife with the implement called a "steel." These Saxon examples are in the shape of small cricket bats, the handle being in the centre, and with rounded edges. There are three of these, the longest being $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins., the next $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and the next (possibly incomplete) 3 ins. Similar examples are recorded from Newbald (see Hull Museum Publication No. 3) and Garton Slack (see Mortimer's *Forty Years' Researches*, Figs. 625 and 680).

Also of iron is a large ring, with a straight portion attached, evidently a buckle, the ring when complete being 1 in. in diameter, and the attached tab 2 ins. long. Another ring, very corroded, would be 1 in. in diameter, and a further object is clearly one of the primitive forms of keys, with the loop handle 2 ins. across, and the iron continuing for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to form a key. There is also a thick cylindrical piece of iron, $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. in diameter and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, which may have been round a large spear or a sword handle. There are remains of an iron rivet or pin on the inside.

Of bronze there are some interesting examples. Perhaps the most important is a penannular brooch, made of round pieces of thick bronze, constricted to take the large bronze pin, which is still well preserved and in position (Plate VI, Fig. 1). This brooch is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in diameter, the pin being $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long and is the largest

of the type recorded in Yorkshire. A similar penannular brooch, where the pin has been made of iron and has decayed, is also of circular bronze wire, and is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. Adhering to this was some friable material, the texture of which suggests the cloth to which the pin was evidently attached when buried.

A curved piece of bronze wire, bent over in the form of a loop, might possibly have been the pin to a small brooch, similar to that just described.

There are three pieces of very thin flat bronze, which may be a bracelet hammered out, one end of which has a small hole evidently for attachment. It rather resembles a bronze bracelet, figured by Mortimer, from Garton Slack.

There is a bronze disc, much corroded, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, very thin and apparently plain, with a circular hole in the centre, which may have been the ornament on a saucer-shaped brooch similar to some recorded near Filey. Another bronze piece, equally thin and much corroded, is $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in width. This is perfectly plain, but its use is difficult to define.

Perhaps the most interesting find is a piece of bronze, bent U-shape, which has a large strip at one end fastened with three small bronze rivets (Plate VI, Fig. 2). In between are four clasps, each with bronze rivets or holes for receiving the same, the whole evidently being the edge of a large purse or other similar receptacle. It is 7 ins. in extreme length, and about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. in width, though if flattened out the bronze would be nearly half an inch across.

Other metal objects include two silvered round hollow studs, which may have been a decoration of a belt or scabbard, each being about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. across. There is one small strip of gold. It is of thin light yellow metal, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide at the widest end, gradually tapering to $\frac{1}{8}$ in. In the centre at the thick end is a carbuncle set in a gold bezel, which has evidently been riveted to the gold strap, as the remains of the rivet occur beneath. At the narrow end is a bezel, with perforation for a similar decoration, but in this case the jewel is missing, though there is trace of a rivet. There are three very similar in the British Museum, which were found at Seamer, Yorks., and are labelled "3 silver gilt tabs with garnets."

There are some interesting beads—one, apparently of jet and sub-conical in shape, being $\frac{5}{8}$ in. across the narrow end and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the opposite side which is flat. The sides are decorated by three double rows of incised lines, which may originally have been coloured, and the centre hole is $\frac{1}{8}$ in. wide and very well drilled.

There is the greater part of a flat oval bead of amethyst, beautifully polished, and perforated on the longer axis. There are two small beads of dark blue plain glass; two small cylindrical beads of dark green glass; one, evidently of glass, of a dirty yellow colour; and another, with a keel, has a very large hole compared with its size.

There is a triangular fragment of glass, of beautiful blue colour, which is slightly curved, and may be part of a drinking vessel.

VISITATIONS OF THE PECULIAR OF MASHAM, 1741-1847.

By E. W. CROSSLEY, F.S.A.

At the Reformation the prebend of Masham was dissolved and its revenues were granted by Henry VIII, as part of its endowments, to Trinity College, Cambridge, which he had founded. The Dean and Chapter of York ceased to have any interest in the churches and lands of the dissolved prebend, but it still remained a peculiar, the College appointing a Commissary who exercised its jurisdiction, holding his visitation yearly in the church of Masham, to which the clergy and churchwardens were summoned, the old wardens to make their presentments and bring in a copy of the register and the terrier,¹ and the new ones to be sworn in. The Commissary also exercised testamentary jurisdiction² and granted marriage licences.³ The peculiar still remained free from the visitation of the Archdeacon of Richmond, in whose area it was geographically situated, and was subject, as before, to the primary visitation of the Archbishop.

The documents on which this paper is based are the property of Trinity College, Cambridge, and are in the custody of Messrs. Edmundson and Gowland, Solicitors, of Masham, to the first of whom I am indebted for permission to use them, and to the latter for the facilities they have granted me. The original documents consist of the process for the visitation; one call book, containing the records of the visitation and correction courts, appointments of surrogates, and some miscellaneous entries; the presentments; other records of the correction courts; and penances. There are also bundles of transcripts of the parish registers, which in parishes outside a peculiar would be found in the Bishop's registry; bonds

¹ There are no terriers, so far as can be ascertained, preserved at Masham. In the case of parishes not included in a peculiar it was usual for terriers to be handed in at the Bishop's visitation of his diocese, and they are preserved in the diocesan registry. The same course would be adopted in the Bishop's visitation of a peculiar. In the writer's experience it is very rare to find a copy of a terrier among

parochial documents which was drawn up apart from an episcopal visitation, at any rate during the period covered by these Masham visitations.

² This part of the Commissary's jurisdiction is not dealt with in this paper.

³ Marriage licences are still granted through Messrs. Edmundson and Gowland's office.

for executing the office of surrogate, and marriage affidavits and bonds. With the exception that there is only one call book the sequence is fairly complete.

Although the records with which this paper is concerned are late¹ they are not without interest, showing as they do the working of the visitation system during the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century up to the end of the existence of the peculiar in 1847, when it was suppressed under an Act of Parliament passed in the previous year. There are no papers for the years in which the archbishop made his primary visitation of the diocese. At such times the jurisdiction of the commissary or official was inhibited, as was the case in all peculiars. The archbishop's primary visitations were held by Archbishop Matthew Hutton in 1748; by Archbishop Robert Hay Drummond in 1764; by Archbishop William Markham in 1777; and by Archbishop Vernon Harcourt in 1809. Archbishop John Gilbert, 1757–1761, does not appear to have exercised his right to visit the peculiar. On the other hand the archbishops were inclined to assert a right to visit the peculiar at their later visitations of the diocese. This was the case with Archbishop Drummond in 1770, who when the minister and churchwardens of Masham and Kirkby Malzeard had absented themselves from his visitation at Ripon summoned them to appear at his correction court at a later date. This is clear from the following copy of a letter addressed probably by the registrar of the peculiar of Masham to Mr. Brooke, proctor, at York—

Sir,

The Peculiar of Masham comprizes the parishes of Kirby Malzeard and Masham, and the chapels of Middlesmoor and Hartwith.

The Rev^d Mr Place, rector of Bedale, is commissary of this Peculiar and holds his Visitation annually and proves wills, grants administrations, licences, etc., within his jurisdiction.

When the Arch Bishop of the Province holds his Primary Visitation the Ministers, Church Wardens and Chapel Wardens attend his Grace's Visitation which is generally held at Ripon, but are not (as is apprehended) bound to attend any future Visitation. [In the case of his Primary Visitation an Inhibition

¹ John Fisher, in his *History of Masham and Mashamshire* (pp. 542–568), gives numerous presentments from the Act Books of the peculiar

of Masham, 1583 to 1641, which may usefully be compared with those for the later period printed here.

has been usually sent to the Commissary of Masham, or his register *crossed out*.]

Arch Bishop Hutton held his Primary Visitation in 1748 when the Ministers, Church and Chapel Wardens attended and the latter were sworn into office. That Arch Bishop held another Visitation some years after, but none of the above persons were called upon to attend [nor was any Inhibition sent to this Peculiar.

This last Visitation was held at Ripon and Arch Bishop Hutton went from thence to consecrate the chapel at Hartwith *struck out*].

When the present Arch Bp¹ held his Primary Visitation in 1764 the Ministers, Church & Chapel Wardens attended and the latter sworn into office.

His Grace has lately held a Visitation at Ripon and the Chapel Wardens of Middlesmoor & Hartwith attended, but the Church Wardens of Masham & Kirby did not, nor was any Inhibition sent to the Commissary, or his Register [or any other Instrument from the Arch Bishop's officers *struck out*].

The Commissary of this Peculiar held his annual Visitation on the 28th of Sepr last and the ordinary business when [*sic*] then transacted and since that time the old & new Church Wardens of Masham & Kirby have been cited to appear personally at the Arch Bishops Court of Correction on Tuesday the 30th Octr instant to exhibit a Terrier and a Presentment Bill and to pay the Visitation Court fees.

It was always understood that their Church Wardens were bound to attend the Arch Bps Primary Visitation only but no other & w^{ch} was never insisted on till now. However as none of the Partys concerned want to give any offence to the Arch Bp or his officers, you will please to inform me by the Retⁿ of Post if the Terrier & Presentment Bill are regularly attested & the Visitation Court Fees paid the Judge or his officers will not be so indulgent as to excuse the personal attendance of the whole body of the old & new Church Wardens of Masham and Kirby, & that the attendance of an old one & a new one out of each Parish may be dispensed with for the whole, as their non attendance at Ripon did not proceed from contumacy in any respect but merely from their misapprehension of the usage.

M^r Moises, the vicar, has been also cited to exhibit his institution & L^res of Orders. These he did exhibit at his Grace's

¹ Archbishop Drummond.

Primary Visitation & I hope indulgence may be granted to him to transmitt these to the Court without his personal attendance which I shall also be glad to know

To Mr Brooke,

16 Oct [17]70

Proctor,

in the Minster Yard, York "

Archbishop Markham certainly visited the peculiar a second time in 1786.

In 1778 the Dean and Chapter of York made an attempt to revive their right to visit the peculiar of Masham and gave notice to the ministers and churchwardens to attend their visitation at Aldborough, and as the commissary did not visit that year and there is a reference to this visitation in a note with the Masham presentment of 1779, it looks as if they succeeded. But it was not without protest, and so far as can be ascertained the attempt was not repeated. The two following letters, addressed by the commissary, Rev. Edw. Place, to the Registrar, Thomas Hutchinson, deal with this point—

Middleham, 25 May [17]78.

Sir

I have heard to day that the Dean and Chapter of York intend holding a Visitation at Aldborough, and have given notice to Kirby, Masham, etc., to attend. I wish you would sufficiently inform yourself of our power within the Jurisdiction of Masham, that in case any thing be wrong in their proceedings the College after proper information may direct us to act with certainty, so as to prevent any future infringement. If necessary that we have a meeting will attend any morning this week at Leyburn or the Halfpenny House. Your answer will much oblige,

Sir,

Your humble Serv^t

Edward Place

[*Addressed to Mr. Hutchinson,¹ Hipswell Lodge.*]

Middleham, 28 July, 1778.

Sir

I have been in hopes of hearing from you for some time to inform me, whether you are satisfied that the Dean and Chapter of York have a right to call upon the clergy within the Jurisdiction of Masham to attend their Visitations. If upon examina-

¹ Thomas Hutchinson, register of the peculiar of Masham.

tion of your papers there be any account that attendance has been given formerly by the clergy of our Jurisdiction to the call of the Dean and Chapter, will it not also appear whether any notice of disapprobation on our part to prevent any future claim. But if no objection on behalf of the Commissary, why then do they not assume a right annually? I am myself much at a loss, and wish if there be any doubt that you would write a proper letter to College for their advice. I am going abroad for a week and shall be glad to hear from you at my return. I am, Sir,

Your obliged h'ble Serv^t

Edward Place.

[*Addressed to Mr. Hutchinson, Hipswell Lodge, Richmond.*]

THE COMMISSARY.

The Commissary or Official of the Peculiar Jurisdiction of Masham was appointed by Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1741 John Hacket, D.D., who was Vice-Master of Trinity College in 1733–34 and Rector of Fakenham, Norfolk, 1732–45,¹ was Commissary. He died May 4, 1745, and was succeeded by Edward Place, M.A., who was Deputy Master of St. Michael's Hospital, Well, 1729–32, Rector of Bedale 1731–75, Dean of Middleham 1742–54.² He died 10 May, 1775. He may have acted as surrogate for Hacket before he was officially appointed. The following letter was addressed to Place, offering him the position of Commissary, by Richard Walker, D.D., Vice-Master of the College³—

Dear Sir,

The College have determined to appoint you our Commissary for our Jurisdiction of Massam, upon the demise of Dr. Hacket. We think as you are upon the spot you will keep the office in much better order than otherwise it can be done; and therefore desire your acceptance of it, w^{ch} we further desire you would signify to us by the first return of the post and your patent shall be sealed and sent immediately. Your son is well, and I am.

Your affectionate friend
and humble servant

May 25, 1745.

R. Walker.

This Edward Place was succeeded in the office by his son Edward Place, M.A., who had succeeded his father as Dean of

¹ J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* Walker was also rector of Fakenham, Norfolk, 1745–58, where

he succeeded Dr. Hackett, and rector of Upwell and Outwell, Norfolk, until 1764. Walker founded the Cambridge Botanic Gardens in 1762 (*Ibid.*).

Middleham in 1754, and died in 1785.¹ Edward Moises, M.A., Vicar of Masham 1757–1790, became Commissary on the death of the younger Place. After him every succeeding vicar of Masham held the office in turn until the peculiar jurisdiction was abolished in 1847.

When the Commissary was unable to visit in person he appointed a surrogate or substitute. The surrogates also had power to exercise jurisdiction in all business and matters of voluntary jurisdiction within the peculiar at other times as well. Form A below was the only one used until the passing of the Act of 26 Geo. II, chap. xxxiii, for the better preventing of Clandestine Marriages.² During the first half of the eighteenth century marriages were taking place, some by license and some without, at chapels where marriages had not previously been solemnized. In the registers of many of these chapels a small number of entries of such marriages are to be found. By the statute above-mentioned it was enacted that after 25 March 1754 all banns were to be published in an audible manner in the parish church, or in some public chapel in which public chapel banns have usually been published, and no licence was to be granted to solemnize any marriage in any other church or chapel than in the parish church or public chapel of the parish or chapelry within which the usual place of abode of one of the persons to be married shall have been for four weeks previous to the granting of the license. Surrogates deputed to grant licenses were to take an oath of office and to give security. This legislation necessitated the second form B being used in addition to form A.

Form of Appointment of Surrogate (A).³

17th May 1754 The Reverend Edward Place Clerk Master of Arts Commissary or Official of the Peculiar and Special Jurisdiction of the Church late of the Prebend of Masham in the County of York did constitute and appoint the Reverend Robert Radclyffe Clerk, the Reverend William Browne Clerk and the Rev^d William Firth Clerk to be his Surrogates or Substitutes jointly or severally to act and dispatch all Business and matters of voluntary Jurisdiction⁴ arising within the Peculiar of Masham aforesaid as fully and amply as the said Commissary could do if personally present. In the presence of me

Tho: Raper, Register
and Notary Publick

¹ *Ibid.*

² *The Statutes at Large*, vii, 525.

³ *Call Book*, 1745–1771.

⁴ Contentious matters, *e.g.* contested wills, were reserved for the Consistory Court.

Form of Appointment of Surrogate (B).¹

17th May 1754. The Reverend Edward Place Clerk Master of Arts Commissary or Official of the Peculiar and Special Jurisdiction of the Church late of the Prebend of Masham in the County of York having this day constituted and appointed the Reverend Robert Radclyffe Clerk, the Reverend William Browne Clerk and the Reverend William Firth Clerk to be his Surrogates or Substitutes jointly or severally to act and dispatch all Business and matters of voluntary Jurisdiction arising within the Peculiar of Masham aforesaid as fully and amply as the said Commissary could do if personally present whereby they the said Robert Radclyffe, William Browne and William Firth have power to grant Licenses of Marriage within the said Peculiar. They the said Robert Radclyffe, William Browne and William Firth in pursuance of an Act of Parliament made in the 26th year of his present Majestyes Reigne Intitled An Act for the better preventing of Clandestine Marriages have severally taken an Oath before the said Commissary faithfully to execute their office according to Law to the best of their knowledge and have severally given security by their Bond in the sum of one hundred Pounds to his Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop of York, Bishop of the Diocese, for the true and faithfull execution of their said office In the presence of me

Tho: Raper, Register
and Notary Publick

PROCESS.

The first step in the Visitation was for the Commissary to issue process to all clerks and literate persons in the jurisdiction to cite all the churchwardens, both old and new, to appear before him in the church of Masham, the old ones to make presentments, to exhibit a true copy of the register and of the terrier of the glebe lands, and the new ones to take the oath on admission to the office.

A copy of the first process, dated 1741, is given below. In 1744, with the advent of Edward Place as Commissary, the clause in regard to wills, etc., was inserted. At the left-hand upper corner is the oval seal of the Commissary which, being impressed on wax covered by paper, is not easily made out, but appears to show the figure of a man kneeling, facing to the sinister, with hands clasped

¹ *Call Book*, 1745-1771.

as in prayer, with the legend "Seal of the Official of the Peculiar of Masham, 1741."¹

The lower half of the sheet of paper on which the process is written contains the names of the old and new churchwardens of Masham and Kirkby Malzeard, and of the old and new chapelwardens of Middlesmoor, the chapelwarden of Hartwith with Winsley occurring for the first time in 1753. Memoranda of the names of executors and in regard to the next of kin of deceased persons are also entered as if they had to be called to the visitation (or to some subsequent court), but they cease after 1746, when Thomas Raper became register. The visitation was held in Masham church, except in 1749 and 1752 when it was held at Kirkby Malzeard. The processes follow in regular succession from 1741-1847 with few exceptions. As was to be expected there were none when the Archbishop visited in 1748, 1764, 1777, 1786, 1809, and when the Dean visited in 1778. They are also missing for 1828-29, 1831-4, 1836-37 and 1839. Two processes were issued in 1746, one for 14 May and the other for 2 July.

Form of Process.

John Hackett, Doctor of Laws, Commissary of the peculiar and extempt Jurisdiction of the late dissolved Prebend of Massam otherwise Masham in the county of York lawfully authorized to all and singular Clerks and Litterate persons whatsoever and wheresoever throughout the jurisdiction of Massam aforesaid We Charge and Comand you that you or the one of you peremptorily Cite as well all and singular the old Church Wardens as well as the new ones of the severall and respective Parishes hereunder written that they and every of them appear before us or our lawfull Surrogate or Substitute or other judge competint in that behalf in the Parish Church of Massam aforesaid in the accustomed Place upon Wednesday the twenty second day of Aprill instant between the Hours of nine and twelve of the Clock in the forenoon of the same day the old ones to make presentments of all and singular errors enormitys and facts as within their severall and respective parishes and chappelrys committed or what appears to us presentable or then cause the said Presentment to be made and to make and exhibit a true copy of the Register of all and singular the Baptisms Marriages and Burialls² within their said respective Parishes and

¹ Fisher, John, *History of Masham and Mashamshire*, facing p. 337.

² The parish register transcripts

extant are as follows: (1) Masham registers on paper, 1742-1813. Nearly twenty years are missing but seem

Chappelrys as also a true Copy of the Terryer of the Glebe lands of the said severall Parishes And the New Church Wardens take the Oath to be to them severally tendered of the due execution of their respective offices within the Parishes and Chappelrys aforesaid the ensueing year (A) lastly that they further do and execute what to justice appertaineth and what you shall do in the Premises ye do duely certifie us our lawfull Surrogate on the said day hours and place together with these presents Given at Massam under the seal of our Office this tenth day of Aprill 1741

John Waite

Notary publick

The following additional paragraph was inserted at the point (A) in the process when Edward Place became Commissary:

We also authorize and command you to cite etc peremptorily all and singular the occupiers and possessors of the goods rights credits cattells and chattells of any decedants¹ in the said peculiar and all and singular executors of decedants wills yet unproved and all whose names are underwritten that they and every of them appear before us or our lawfull Surrogate at the time and place aforesaid to exhibit before us the last wills and testaments of the said decedants and to take upon them or renounce the execution thereof and in case they died intestate to show lawfull and reasonable cause (if they have any) why Letters of administration of the said Intestates personall estates upon their refusing or neglecting to extract the same may not be granted to any fitt persons petitioning for the same

BOOK OF ARTICLES.

Previous to the Visitation a Book of Articles was issued to the church and chapel wardens. It contained a list of questions. Unfortunately there does not appear to be a copy extant for the middle of the eighteenth century, but we learn from a presentment in 1755 that the titles, or heads of enquiry, were for this occasion (1) concerning churches and chapels, (2) churchyards, houses,

to be comprised in (2) Masham registers on parchment, 1765–1800. (3) Kirkby Malzeard registers, 1741–1815. Several years missing. (4) Hartwith with Winsley registers, 1755–1813. (5) Middlesmoor registers, 1755–1813. (6) Middlesmoor

registers, 1834–1836, among which have been placed some early eighteenth century copies.

¹ Decedents, deceased persons, a term still used in U.S.A., chiefly in Law (*N.E.D.*).

glebe, etc., (3) ministers, (4) the parishioners, (5) churchwardens and chapelwardens, (6) our clerk and sexton and their performing their duties, (7) ecclesiastical officers. The questions under each head varied from 4 to 23. In 1838 a printed Book of Articles in use for the archdeaconry of Richmond was issued. The Articles are printed on foolscap paper and there is a space opposite each enquiry for the answer. In this form there were four titles—(1) the church, (2) the churchyard, (3) the interior of the church, (4) administration of divine services.

There was probably always an accompanying letter similar to the one from A. Temple Tate, registrar, printed below—

Peculiar of Masham

To the Churchwardens of the Parish of Kirkby Malzeard.

The following Articles of Inquiry have been drawn up, with a view to assist you in framing your Presentments, a duty which you are bound, by your oath of office, to discharge faithfully, and with a strict regard to truth. In order that you may answer, with a clear conscience, the questions which are here proposed to you, it will be your duty to *examine* personally into all the several particulars to which they refer. You are desired to consider, of how great importance it is to the maintenance of good order in the Church, and to the well-being of Religion, that you should carefully and honestly execute this part of your duty.

Anth^y Temple Tate, Registrar.

The persons attending the Visitation were all clerks in Holy Orders in the peculiar, the schoolmaster, and from 1741 the churchwardens of Masham and Kirkby Malzeard and the chapelwardens of Middlesmoor, joined by the chapelwardens of Hartwith with Winsley in 1753, and those of Dallowgill and Mickley from 1846 and of Ramsgill in 1847. Middlesmoor, Hartwith, Dallowgill, Mickley and Ramsgill were all chapels in the parish of Kirkby Malzeard.

THE CALL BOOK.

Only one is extant for the period covered by these records. It is a quarto book, 1745 to 1771, and contains

(1) Records of the Visitation Courts.

These include, for each court, the names and surnames of all vicars, curates, schoolmasters, old and new churchwardens

and chapelwardens of the several parishes and chapelries in the peculiar. It is recorded whether they appeared, were excused or absent; whether the old wardens had given in their presentments and the new ones had been sworn. If a churchwarden was absent at his call he must pay 3s., viz., Judge 1s., Register 1s., Surrogate 1s., as in the case of Marmaduke Ascough, churchwarden of Kirkby Malzeard.¹

(2) Appointments of Surrogates.

(3) Records of the Correction Courts.²

(4) Miscellaneous matters.

There are two or three records of grants of probate, etc., in the body of the book; and on the last page forms of the Act of endorsement on the backs of Administration bonds, Probate bonds and Tuition bonds; forms of subscription at the bottom of a copy of a will; and forms of the old churchwardens' and also of the new churchwardens' oaths. Also a note in 1755. The parish clerk of Kirkby Malzeard has no license, but admonished to take one, which was accordingly done. The parish clerk of Masham appears and has a license.

THE PRESENTMENTS.

The presentments are on paper, and are in answer to queries contained in the Book of Articles. In nearly all cases the answers were written before the document had been received; "We have nothing to present" against each question. No doubt the intention was that if it were desired to make a presentment the words were struck out and the presentment inserted. They were very few in number after presentments for moral lapses ceased in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The document was signed by the outgoing churchwardens. The presentments of Papists was usually made on a separate piece of paper, signed by the minister. They are fairly complete, after making allowance for the years in which the Archbishop visited the peculiar and the visitation by the Dean in 1778, when no visitations were held by the Commissary. The missing years are for Masham 1746, 1771, 1824, 1828, 1832 to 1835, 1837 to 1839; for Kirkby Malzeard, 1746, 1768, 1828, 1832 to 1834, 1836 to 1837, 1839; for Middlesmoor, 1828, 1831 to 1834, 1836 to 1837, 1839; for Hartwith, 1770, 1828, 1832-1837, 1839. In the following lists presentments, which are rather numerous, of offences against morality, are not included.

¹ *Call Book*, 1745-1771 (p. 1).

² See *post*, p. 64.

PRESENTMENTS.

(1) Masham, 1741–1847.

1745. Holy Communion administered at 3 grand Festivals and near once a month besides.

In a letter addressed to the Register, Mr. Smithyes at Richmond 13 July 1745, is a reference to the Correction Court to be held next at Masham.

1756. The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, who are obliged to repair the chancel of the parish church of Masham, and who neglect to repair the same, which is now very ruinous and [in] great decay.

1758. A man for marrying his first wife's sister.

1763. Christopher Sturdy of Masham for drunkenness, in appearing to us this day drunk in the church of Masham.

1772. Papists¹: Ralph Siddall and Bridgett, his wife, and three children; the wife of Robert Blackburn of Fearby.

1779. On a note—N.B. Kirkby, Masham and Middlesmoor should deliver to me copies of the registers given in at the Archbishop's Visitation in 1777 and the Dean of York's Visitation in 1778. N.B. Masham register given in at the Visitation in 1779 is not signed by the churchwardens.

1780. N.B. Mr. Greenbank should not omit ye days of Bapt^s, Burials and Marr. in Kirkby Malzeard register.

1838. As to services—10.30 in the morning and 3 in the afternoon. As to Communion—On Christmas day, Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Whitsunday and monthly.

(2) Kirkby Malzeard, 1741–1847.

1759. James Teasdale for refraining coming to the parish church of Kirkby Malzerd for many years after being admonished by the church wardens of the said parish, and his answer was that every man's house was his church, or to that effect.

1766. On a separate paper to the presentments is a return by Mr. Edward Moises, vicar, of all the Papists in the peculiar:

¹ The Papists throughout the peculiar had very much diminished in numbers when compared with the lists in Fisher's extracts from the presentments in the Act Books,

1583–1641 (*History of Masham and Mashamshire*, pp. 542–567). They are mostly to be found in the chapelry of Hartwith,

“ There are two Papists in the parish of Masham
 The wife of Ralph Siddall of Masham &
 the wife of Robert Blackbourn of Fearby.
 In the parish of Kirkby Malzeard are the following,
 all descended from Popish parents:
 In Kirkby Town { The wife of Wm. Abbot &
 the wife of Thos. Blacow.
 In Galwhey { The wife of Wm. Nelson &
 the wife of Thos. Hodgson.
 In Grewelthorp—John Matson & his mother.
 No Popish Priest resident in either parish.
 Edw^d Moises, vicar.”

1769. Mr. Philip Sands for refusing to pay seven shillings and five pence three farthings his share of ye church sess.

1772. A list of ye names of persons, Papists or reputed Papists in ye Low parish of Kirkby Malzeard.

Mary, wife of Thos. Hodgson, weaver.

Lucy ye wife
 William ye son }
 Ellen ye daughter } of Will. Nelson, husbandman.

Mary, wife of Will. Wood, weaver.

Margaret Abbot, widow.

Joan ye wife
 Anne ye daughter } of Tho. Blacow, shoemaker.

John Matson, cooper.

1781. The Quire of the church being out of repair is expected to be shortly repaired.

1782. The Chancel of the church is out of repair but is expected to be repaired very soon.

1838. (3) The font was not in good repair.

The Communion rails and table were neat and in good repair.

(4) There was a Bible free from note and comment

The service of the church, both occasional and on Sunday, was performed as it is prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, without adding, altering or diminishing.¹

Services on Sunday at 10.30 and 3.0.

Communion was administered on Christmas Day, Good-friday, Easter Day, Whitsunday and various other times.

¹ A great contrast to the present practice in many churches throughout the country.

(3) Middlesmoor, 1741–1847.

1742. Robert Woodrup for a Clandestine marriage with Anne Iveson.
John Hebden for a Clandestine marriage with Frances Waite.
1745. Thomas Hammond for not repairing the Chapple Yard Fence.
1747. David Craven for not paying his Chapel Lays.
1758. [Concerning Dissenters] William Rayner for raising a great disturbance in the Chapel Yard immediately after Divine service in the Forenoon and for using very opprobrious and scandalous words against the minister.
Moses Rayner for keeping a Conventicle at his House without being certified for.
William Snell for refusing to have his Child Christened according to the Ruberick of the Church after Baptism.
1765. Concerning Ecclesiastical Officers: The Queries under this Title we have duly considered off and hope we have nothing to present [*a very similar presentment next year*].
1766. We have one Papish Family consisting of two women, and also another Papist woman who is a border in another Family.
John Verity was perverted from the Protestant to the Papish Religion about seven years agoe, but since removed out of this Chapelry into that of Pateley-Bridge.
1772. Elizabeth wife of Matthew Hanley and Thomas Grainge for quarreling in the Church about the right of a seat in or about the month of September last upon a Sunday immediately after divine Morning Service.
We have one Papist Family consisting of an old Woman & her Daughter an old Maid. *Nem. Contr.*
We have no papist Priest no any reputed as such.
We have not any that have been [perverted] from the Protestant to the Papist Religion.
1774. The Chapel being out of Repair in the Roof thereof but the same is expected to be put into Repair soon.
1775. The Chapel is at present out of Repair but will shortly be put into sufficient Repair.
We have now one Papist reputed in this Chapelry and that a single woman.
1780. John Longthorn for neglecting to pay eight shillings his assessment towards the Repair of the Chapel for the last

year ending this day and John Mackerell for refusing to pay one shilling and seven pence halfpenny his Assessment towards the Repair of the said Chapel for the last year.

One Papist, Elizabeth Norton, an old Maid aged between 50 and 60.

None perverted to Popery.

John Beecroft for carreing loads on the saboth day for hire.

1784. We have no Papists or Families reputed as such.

1785. No Papists or reputed Papists.

1794. Sarah Mackrell of Stonebeckdown for refusing to pay one shilling and seven pence halfpenny her Church sess due at the Visitation in 1793 and one shilling and one penny being her Church sess due to this 9th day of July 1794.

1795. Sarah Mackerell for refusing to pay 1s. 3½*d.* chapel sess William Myres jun. late of Gowthwaite Hall now of Horthside in Pately parish for refusing to pay 10s. 7¼*d.* and William Bowler of (? Heathfield) for refusing to pay 1s. 5½*d.* (Note: Myers & Bowler have since paid).

1838. Printed form used. Is there a Bible free from note and Comment?

Ans. There is.

How often, and at what seasons, is the Communion administered?—*Ans.*: Six times in the year, viz. First Sunday in Lent, Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Whitsunday, Michaelmas & Christmas Day.

Sunday Services, 10.30 a.m. in summer, 2 p.m. in winter.

(4) Hartwith, 1755–1847.

1759. William Wade and George Watson for not paying their church rates, or chapel rates.

“ Mr Raper.¹ [Letter.]

We should be glad to know whether or no the inhabitants or land owners in Hartwith are liable to pay to the Church and *Chapel Rates*; if they are liable to pay *the latter*, you are desired hereby to proceed against the offenders above named.

Mr Charles Long, Churchwarden.

Jno. Robinson, Chapelwarden.”

¹ Thomas Raper, the register.

1765. Cornelius Buck and Jonathan Hardcastle of Hartwith, Quakers, and also Christopher Moor of the same Denomination lately of the chapelry of Hartwith but now of the township of Dacre cum Buerley and in the chapelry of Pateley Bridge, All of them having refused to pay their Church Rates when the same was lawfully demanded, not only for this present year, but also for several years by-passed.
1766. There are several Papists, or persons reputed to be Papists in the chapelry of Hartwith. The N^o of Families are Four, viz., The Family of Wheelhouse; The Family of Wright; the Family of Wilson; and the Family of Peacock. The Family of Wheelhouse consists of James W., sen^r, Master or Head of the Family; James W., jun^r, and Richard W., sons of James W., sen^r, and Anne W. (some time since married to Joseph Grainge, a Protestant) and Elizabeth W., both daughters of James W., senr., and Thomas Wright and Alice Wright, his wife, servants to James W., senior.
- The Family of Wright consists of Willm. Wright and Eliz^a Wright, his wife.
- The Family of Wilson consists of Margt. Wilson; Robt. Wilson and Jno. Wilson, her sons; and Ann W. and Mary W. her daughters.
- The Family of Peacock consists of Joseph Peacock and Eliz^h P. his wife.
- There are no Popish Priests, nor any reputed to be such in the chapelry of Hartwith.
- Elizabeth, the wife of Willm. Wright above mentioned was perverted from the Protestant to the Popish Religion by marrying a Papist about nine years ago, and has continued such ever since that time.
1772. Papists. William Wright, Elizabeth his wife, James Wheelhouse, James Wheelhouse, jun., Elizabeth Wheelhouse, Joseph Peacock, Elizabeth his wife, James Peacock, their son, and their other children.
1780. Francis Malthouse refusing to pay four shillings and one penny half penny, his assessment towards the repairs of Kirkby Malzeard church and Hartwith chapel.
1838. Time of Service is $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 in the morning, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 in the afternoon. Communion administered Christmas Day, Easter Day, Whitsunday, and other times.

CORRECTION COURTS.

RECORDS OF THE CORRECTION COURTS.

These were held at irregular intervals, probably at such times as convenience or the amount of business justified. Persons who had committed offences against ecclesiastical discipline were cited to appear before the Commissary or his lawful surrogate.

Correction courts were held 23 Oct. 1745; 22 Sept. 1750; 13 Oct. 1753; 27 Feb. 1758; 17 June 1761; 19 Oct. 1768. The proceedings at all these are recorded in the Call Book, 1745 to 1771. After this last date we have evidence of only one, on 4 Apl. 1781, for which there is a Call List¹ containing the names of persons presented at the visitations held in 1779 and 1780 who were cited to appear. Thomas Greenbank acted as surrogate for Edward Place on this occasion.

In the Call Book are written the names of those cited and the nature of their offences, mostly moral lapses, and in the right-hand margin the result of the proceedings in each case, except in that held on 19 Oct. 1768 where no records of the results are entered. A good number escaped punishment because they had "gone out of the jurisdiction." Those who did not appear were excommunicated for contumacy. Those who did appear confessed their crime and were admonished to extract an order of penance. Sometimes an offender relented. There are two instances in 1753 in which persons, excommunicated for contumacy in not appearing and in whose cases sentences of excommunication had been published in the chapel of Hartwith on 9 June 1754, were absolved on 26 Feb. 1760, and admonished to extract an order of penance. In another case in 1761 a woman was excommunicated for contumacy, and two years later, appearing and confessing her crime and praying her penance, the excommunication was not read, and the penance was made out to be performed.

Occasionally a private penance was enjoined, "to appear in the church on some Sunday or Holyday, in the accustomed apparell, within two months." In 1758 two persons were cited for an irregular marriage. They had been married in Scotland, 16 Feb. 1757 at Moffat parish in the shire of Dumfries. The woman was the man's first wife's sister. He sent to be asked in the church at Kirkby Malzeard by Mr. Tenant, who published them once, being a stranger to the case; but when he discovered it he desisted, and

¹ In the bundle of Masham presentments.

they then went and got married as above—"and the day Mr. Tenant baptized the child S. discovered to him his wedding as above. He wanted his wife to be churched, but I advised Mr. Tenant against it." They were ordered and were admonished to extract an order of penance and for him and his wife to separate and live apart as being an incestuous marriage.

At the correction court, 23 Oct. 1745, Thomas Hammond, cited "for not repairing the chappell yard fence," was excommunicated, but not to be extracted of four weeks. Later a note is added—"14 June 1746. Then Mr. Moses Jackson appeared on the behalf of the def. and certified Mr. Com^{ry} that the fence was put into sufficient repair and payd the fees following: appear[ance] and dismission fees 5s. 4d., citation 9d., apparitor's service 1s., contumacy fees 5s., surr[ogate] 1s.—13s. 1d."

PROCESS FOR CORRECTION COURTS.

In the bundle of Masham presentments are processes for Correction Courts to be held on 27 Feb. 1758 and on 7 Mar. 1781. There is another process for one to be held on 17 June 1761 preserved in the bundle of penances. A copy of the first is printed below. On the process are written the names of the persons cited and their offences. On the process for 1781 the decision of the judge is also given in the margin.

Form of Process for a Correction Court.

Edward Place, Clerk, Master of Arts, Commissary or Official of the Peculiar and special Jurisdiction of the Church late of the Prebend of Masham in the County of York lawfully constituted To all and singular Clerks and Literate persons whomsoever and wheresoever within the said Peculiar Greeting Wee injoin and strictly Command you that you some or one of you cite peremptorily all and singular the person and persons whose Names and Surnames are underwritten all within the said Peculiar That they and every of them appear before us or our lawfull surrogate in the Parish Church of Masham aforesaid upon Monday the twenty seventh day of February instant between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon of the same day to answer certain Articles or Interrogatorys concerning their souls health and the Reformation of their manners especially the crime of adultery, fornication or incontineny and other offences detected and presented to us at our late annual and former Visitations by us lawfully held to be objected and administred to them

respectively when they come of meer office and further to do and receive what shall be lawfull in that behalfe And what you shall do in the premisses you shall duely certifie us or our lawfull surrogate together with these presents. Given under the seal of our office the sixteenth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty eight

Tho: Raper, Register
and Notary Publick.

[*Seal in left-hand upper corner.*]

[*The names are written below and include a person for marrying his first wife's sister.*]

PENANCES.

Almost invariably the punishment for offences brought before the Correction Court was the performance of a penance, and amongst the records is a bundle labelled "Peculiar Court of Masham, 1742 to 1789. Orders for Penance." One penance in the bundle is dated 1794. After it had been performed the order for penance had to be returned to the register duly certified by the minister and churchwardens as to its fulfilment. This was sometimes endorsed on the actual order.

In the bundle is a list of penances (to be entered in the book) for persons presented in the years 1772, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (years in which there is no record that a Correction Court was held) and not cited. This seems to indicate that penances were sometimes enjoined even when no Correction Court was held. Two letters addressed to "Mr Thomas Hutchinson, attorney at law, of Hipswell lodge, nr. Richmond," the register of the court, support this view. The first, dated 17 Sept. (17)73, is from the chapelwarden of Middlesmoor, writing for a penance "for A.B. presented at your court at Masham." The second, dated 13 July 1788, from Mr. Firth, curate of Middlesmoor, saying that the bearer, an acquaintance of his, will be glad to pay something—please grant a private penance for his daughter.

Normally the penance had to be done in public on a Sunday, the offender standing in the porch, bare-headed, bare-foot and bare-legged, in a white sheet, with a white rod in his hand, from the ringing of the first peal, asking people who entered to pray for him. Then after the reading of the second lesson he was conducted into the church by the minister reading the Psalm *Miserere Mei* in English and placed on a form or seat before the congregation, when he confessed his sins, afterwards saying the Lord's Prayer.

In the case of a private penance it was done before or after divine service in the offender's usual apparel and in the presence of the minister and the churchwardens or some other person chosen by the minister.

FORMS OF PENANCE.

Masham, 12 May 1742.

1. ¹A Declaration of Penance enjoined to be performed by [A.B.] and [C.] his wife of the chaplery [*sic*] of Middlesmore as followeth,

The said [A. B.] and [C.] his wife shall be present in the chapell of Middlesmore aforesaid upon some Sunday at the appointment of the Reverend M^r Cookson where standing upon some seat or pew before the reading the Second lesson in the forenoon service they shall audibly reverently and penitentially repeat the following declaration.

Whereas wee [good people] in contempt of the statutes and ecclesiastical lawes of this Realm did procure ourselves to be married clandestinely without publication of Banns or any Dispensation in that behalfe obtained and thereby have incurr'd ecclesiastical censures in that behalfe provided and given evil example to others we are heartely sorry and do earnestly repent of the same and do desire all here present to take notice of this our punishment that they may avoid the like contempt.

*This Declaration of Penance
was performed on Sunday
the third of October 1742 in
this Chapple of Middlesmoor
according to order above writ-
ten as Witness our hands
Miles Cookson minister*

Tho: Tomlin

(his mark)

John + Iveson

Joseph Birch

Chapple

Wardens

The performance hereof is to be certified to the Registers Office in Masham under the hands of the Minister and Church Wardens at or before the eleaventh day of November next together with these presents.

Step. Smithyes

Register

2. Penance enjoined to be done by [A.B.].

(Printed form.)

1743 May 4.

The said [A.B.] shall upon Sunday being the 10th day of July next repair unto the parish church of Masham aforesaid

¹ This is an original order, endorsed with the certificate that it had been done.

where in the church porch he shall stand penitentially bare-head, Bare-foot and Bare-legged, having White rod in his Hand, covered with a White Sheet from the Shoulders to the Feet, from the ringing of the first peal or other warning to Morning Prayer, asking and entreating all such people as pass by him to pray to God to forgive him, where he shall stand untill the reading of the Second Lesson¹ for Morning Prayer, at which time the Minister shall fetch him into the church with the Psalm of *Misere Mei* in English and place him in the middle alley a part from all other people, which being done the said [A.B.] shall say and confess after the Minister as followeth:

[A somewhat different form of words to those in No. 1.]

A Private Penance.

1763.

3. A Declaration of Penance enjoined to be done.

The said [A.B.] and [C.] his wife shall upon some Sunday or Holyday on or before the twenty sixth day of July next in the chapel of Hartwith immediately before, or after the end of Morning or Evening Service, in their accustomed apparel according to and at the discretion of the Reverend Matthew Metcalfe curate of the said chapel in the presence of him and the chapel wardens of the said chapel repeat after the minister audibly and penitentially the declaration following:

[A somewhat different form of words to those in No. 1, and the Lord's Prayer.]

List of Fees for Penances.²

2 April 1781.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Judge	4	2	.. .. .	6	10
Appearance and Dismission fee ..	2	8			
<i>[In margin: (When) returned duly certified.]</i>					
Register	4	2	.. .. .	8	5
Appearance and Dismission fee ..	2	8			
Stamp of penance, etc. ..	1	7			
Surrogate .. .. .	..	..	.. .. .	1	0
Apparitor .. .. .	..	..	.. .. .	1	0
				17	3

¹ In some cases it was after the reading of the Gospel.

² The fees were sometimes reduced on account of poverty. In one case an order for penance was marked 5/-.



THE GOATHLAND CHALICE

YORKSHIRE CHURCH PLATE.

By FREDERICK BRADBURY, F.S.A.

The Church Plate in the County is of exceptional interest, due to the fact that so many of the vessels used for communion bear early York silver assay marks. Assaying of silver plate in the city terminated mid nineteenth century. The earliest mention of silver made in York so far recorded is late fourteenth century. The firm of Barber, Cattle & North were working silversmiths in York at the date of Queen Victoria's accession, the partners being J. Barber and W. North. In 1848 James Barber appears to have been carrying on alone. We last hear of him in the year 1856.

Many specimens of Yorkshire-made Silver Communion Plate are illustrated and described in two volumes of *Yorkshire Church Plate*, published 1912 under the auspices of the Yorkshire Archæological Society.

It has not infrequently happened, when parishes have decreased in population, the services of the larger flagons and chalices used by the churches for Holy Communion have been discarded. In other parishes where congregations have increased in size, the services of the smaller chalices have usually been dispensed with. In many instances secular cups were bequeathed to churches for purposes of communion; whilst complete new services were sometimes presented and substituted for older and more valuable articles which have been subsequently lost. An instance can be given where, in a neighbouring county, a large disused silver flagon bearing the Britannia mark and silver assay of Queen Anne's reign, weighing 65 ozs., was loaned by the vicar of a parish church to his churchwarden, the landlord of the inn opposite the church, and it was by him put in use for the purpose of drawing beer. Owing to the marks thereon resembling those used by pewterers, the vicar concluded the flagon was of soft metal, and as such he subsequently described it in his Terrier of the year 1870. With the advent of a new incumbent this valuable piece of plate was restored to its original service in the church, and it is now correctly described as of silver. Fortunately it looks none the worse for wear after its period of use for secular purposes.

At the church of Goathland, near Whitby, there is a priceless pre-Reformation silver chalice. The illustration shows it as in

use to-day. That given in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* depicts the chalice previous to its restorations in 1908. It is therein described as "restored beyond recognition." However that may be, it is difficult to see how this fine specimen of silver-smith's craft could have been made serviceable unless it was re-shaped and repaired. The date is probably mid fifteenth century. The Rev. N. Storrs Fox, Vicar of Goathland, is of opinion the chalice belonged to the ancient chapelry of Goathland before it was linked with Pickering.

Examining the plate of a very old Lancashire church recently, the verger, on being asked if he had any earlier pieces, stated there was another vessel, but it was too old to be of service, so the vicar had placed it in his safe at the rectory. Similar instances have occurred where at the vicar's decease the vessels have been sold along with his effects as personal property.

As regards base metal communion services, some twenty years ago a very old and unusual communion service of pewter was offered for sale. It came from the border-land of England and Scotland, and, as the church had recently acquired a silver service, the original one was discarded. This service was eventually disposed of amongst various collectors of old pewter.

A very complete communion service, contained in an old oak plate chest, was on offer some fifteen years ago by a second-hand dealer in South Yorkshire. It was and still is in perfect condition. Made by the Old Sheffield Plate process, it bears some beautiful engraving on inlaid silver shields. Where this service originally came from it was impossible to ascertain.

The illustrations shown, kindly supplied by the proprietors of *Antique Collector Magazine*, are of silver plate that lay discarded for many years in the tower of a Yorkshire church, and rediscovered recently on the advent of another incumbent. The chalice and paten are the property of the church at Wortley, near Sheffield, Yorkshire. Particulars and photographs were kindly furnished by Canon Douglas, Rector of Tankersley, Yorks.

From time to time when not required for regular service the chalice has been put on one side and forgotten, then "rediscovered." A short description of this interesting piece of silver plate was recorded in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, 1915.

As is so often the case with pre-Commonwealth church plate, the details in connection with its acquisition and early history cannot now be traced. Originally the cup would have no cover and was probably made for secular use, as was the Marston Cup,



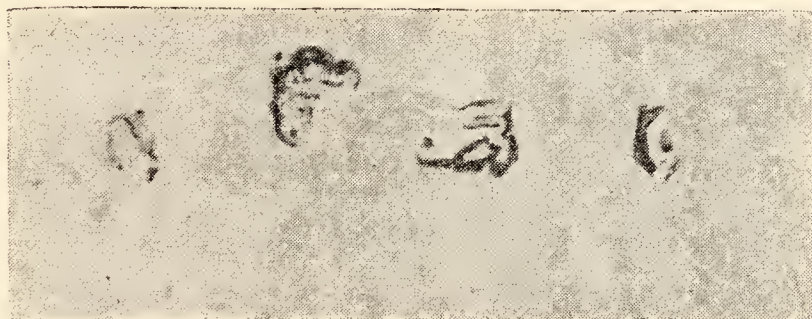
THE WORTLEY CHALICE AND PATEN COVER

now the property of St. Nicholas Church, Oxfordshire, made in the reign of Henry VI, to which it bears some resemblance. The Wortley Cup has three lion supports attached to the base. The Marston Cup stands on three Talbot dogs.

The following lettering is engraved on the body: *Deo Sacrum ne attingete furis*, possibly inscribed when the cup was first dedicated for sacred use. An examination shows that the lip has been bent inwards to support the paten cover and fitted at a later date. The hall marks on the body of the cup reveal that it was made by a London silversmith "Thomas Bampton," and assayed at the Goldsmiths' Hall, 1573. He struck a bird for marking device.



The York hall marks on the paten.



The London marks on the chalice.

The paten cover was added in the mid-seventeenth century and bears the York assay mark; a half leopard's head and half fleur-de-lis, and date letter for the year 1637; the maker's initials are those of Francis Bryce. In Charles I's reign a considerable quantity of Communion plate was made by the Guild of York silversmiths for Yorkshire churches. They were expert craftsmen capable of undertaking any tasks in connection with the production of sterling silver articles.

The cup (and cover) stands $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. high by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter. The weight of silver with cover is $13\frac{1}{4}$ oz., and cover alone 3 oz. 14 dwt. The foot is round, plain and squat, consisting of two members, with terraced mouldings. The whole is supported by three lions on oval bases.

James Brooke, Lord Mayor of York in 1649 & 1660. Born = Priscilla ? Born in 1613. She built the Chapel at York in 1593. Purchased Ellenthorpe 1654. Died in 1675, in Ellenthorpe in 1658. She died in 1692 and is aged 82, and is buried in the Chancel of Aldborough Church buried next her husband in Aldborough Church

Sir John Brooke, Created = Mary
Baronet 1676. M.P. for Waller
Boroughbridge 1679-1685

Ann = Sir William Wyvill, 4th Baronet. (Dorothy Wyvill, sister of Sir William, married Charles Tancred of Whixley, who was one of the Trustees of the Marriage Settlement of Anne Brooke)

Sir James Brooke, 2nd Baronet, of Skelton.
Married Bridget Wright. Died 1735.

Sir Job Brooke, 3rd Baronet. Died un-
married 1770, when the baronetcy became
extinct

Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, 5th Baronet = Henrietta Maria Yarbrough Darcy William John Ursula Priscilla

Henrietta Mary Anne

John Thomas Mrs. Bethell Mrs. Place Mrs. Proctor Anne
= Henry
Henry
Priscilla Bethell Rowland John James Priscilla Place
Deborah Honor

THE TOWNSHIP OF ELLENTHORPE AND THE BROOKE FAMILY.

By Sir THOMAS LAWSON-TANCRED, Bt.

THE NON-CONFORMIST CHAPEL AT ELLENTHORPE.

The Township of Ellenthorpe is in the ecclesiastical Parish of Aldborough, and lies on the north bank of the river Ure. It consists of two large farms with their cottages and outbuildings, and now belongs to the Crown.

In Domesday *Adelingesthorp* was in the soc of *Burc* (Aldborough). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries most of Ellenthorpe was held by St. Mary's Abbey, York, and in the reign of Edward I the chief freeholders seem to have been Jordan de Ellinthorpe and George Tankard (Lay Subsidy, 28 Ed. I), whose names appear in records of the time connected with Aldborough.

After the Dissolution of the Monasteries Ellenthorpe passed to the Crown, and seems to have become included in the neighbouring Manor of Myton.

In 1578 the Crown sold Ellenthorp to the Aldburgh family who probably built Ellenthorpe Hall and made it their principal residence; up to this time they resided principally at Humburton.

In 1654 the Aldburghs sold Ellenthorpe to James Brooke, Alderman of York, Lord Mayor of York in 1649 and 1660. His wife, Dame Priscilla Brooke, built a Protestant Non-Conformist Chapel adjoining Ellenthorpe Hall which she endowed in her will. This endowment consisted of a sum of £500, which seems to have been invested by her trustees in certain lands which now form part of the Grantley Estate and then belonged to the Nortons. On the death of the second Lord Grantley the income of £20 a year accruing from these lands appears to have been lost, and Dame Priscilla Brooke's endowment lapsed.

Some of the ministers ejected from their livings by the Act by Uniformity in 1662 officiated in the Chapel of Ellenthorpe.

There was formerly a house above the Chapel where the minister resided; the Chapel or its site now forms part of the outbuildings connected with Ellenthorpe Hall.

In the Aldburgh Parish Register occurs the entry:

“ 1762 Mr. John Kemp, Dissenting Minister of Ellenthorpe, buried March 28 ”

The old residence of the Bendlowes family at Sutton Howgrave is now a farm house on the property of Sir Willans Nussey.

In Kirklington Church is a memorial to Philip Bendlowes, who died in 1769 and is described as the last heir male of that family.

EXTRACTS FROM A CHANCERY SUIT IN 1620.

Dame Olive Stapylton and Brian Stapylton Plaintiffs versus
William Aldburgh and Arthur Aldburgh Defendants

(The Stapyltons claim a free rent of 6s. a year from the Aldburghs on account of certain lands in Elinthorpe, and also affirm that the Aldburghs have enclosed certain lands in Elinthorpe, belonging to the Manor of Myton.)

Case for the Stapyltons.

In the reign of Elizabeth the Manor of Myton belonged to the Crown. It had formerly belonged to St. Mary's Abbey, York. In Elinthorpe there were certain lands and free rents which belonged to the Manor of Myton.

Queen Elizabeth disposed of some of the lands in Elinthorpe but retained the free rents which still belonged to the Manor of Myton.

By Letters Patent, dated 26 July 1591, Queen Elizabeth granted the Manor of Myton to Richard Lewknor, Richard Browne and John Lambton and their heirs, together with all the appurtenances of the Manor.

Lewknor, Browne and Lambton conveyed the Manor to Lord Lumley, and by mean conveyances it afterwards passed to Dame Olive Stapylton for her life, with remainder to Brian Stapylton and his heirs, who ought to receive the free rents due from Elinthorpe.

Richard Aldburgh owned certain lands in Elinthorpe out of which a free rent should be paid to the Manor of Myton, but for some years before his death in 1612 he had refused to pay. His son, William Aldburgh, and his grandson, Arthur Aldburgh, not only refuse to pay the free rent of 6s. a year but have also enclosed certain lands in Elinthorpe belonging to the Manor of Myton.

Case for the Aldburghs.

Queen Elizabeth owned certain lands and rents in Elinthorpe which were part of her Manor of Myton.

Some of these lands and rents had formerly belonged to St. Mary's Abbey, York, and some to the seven Rectors of the Collegiate Church of St. John's, Beverley.

Queen Elizabeth, by Letters Patent dated 21 July 1568, granted to Percival Bowes and John Moyser certain lands in Ellinthorpe which were part of the Manor of Myton formerly belonging to St. Mary's, York, and other lands in Ellinthorpe formerly belonging to the seven Rectors of Beverley.

Percival Bowes and Moyser, by deed dated 22 July 1578, sold the lands etc. in Ellinthorpe to Richard Aldburgh for £675, and from him they have descended to William Aldburgh and Arthur Aldburgh, who have never paid any free rents to the Manor of Myton, and who do not know which part of their lands in Ellinthorpe formerly belonged to St. Mary's, York, and which to the seven Rectors of Beverley.

Witnesses for the Plaintiffs.

Christopher Lancaster of Myton, yeoman, aged 70 years, states that the freeholders of Ellinthorpe, for example one Mr. Thornton, usually appeared at the Courts of the Manor of Myton.

Mr. Aldburgh has been usually called as a free-holder at the said Court.

The owners of the Manor of Myton had the waifs and strays in Ellinthorpe, as belonging to the Manor of Myton, until Mr. William Aldburgh restrained the taking thereof.

He (Lancaster) has taken the waifs and strays in Ellinthorpe for the Lord of the Manor of Myton, and before his time one Hawthorne, bailiff of the Manor, used to take them in time of Queen Elizabeth.

The Manor used to belong to Queen Elizabeth and was exchanged by her with the late Lord Lumley.

One year before the exchange Rich. Aldburgh, father of the Defendant William Aldburgh, paid to the Deputy of Sir William Fairfax, Her Majesty's Receiver of the rents belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, York, the sum of 6s. as a free rent due for lands in Ellinthorpe.

Richard Thornton, of Ellinthorpe, pays a free rent of 7/6 to the Manor of Myton.

There is a piece of ground called Nell Green in Ellinthorpe, lying before Mr. Aldburgh's house, and extending thence to the river Ure, containing about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres enclosed by Mr. Aldburgh, which used to be used as a Common by the inhabitants of Ellinthorpe and Milby.

Thomas Gibson, of Brearton, aged 77 years; Anthony Wright, of Myton, aged 68 years; Walter Thompson, of Aldburgh, aged 58 years; and Robert Stanwell also gave evidence to like effect.

EXTRACTS FROM WILL.

The following are extracts from the will dated 11 Dec., 1691, of Dame Priscilla Brooke, of Howgrave, widow, which makes, *inter alia*, provision for some Non-Conformist Minister to preach every Sabbath in Ellinthorpe Chapel.

To be buried in Aldborough Church near my late husband. To my Grandson, Sir James Brooke, all my household goods at Ellinthorpe at the time of my death not otherwise disposed of, and all my pictures there, except my Lady Watson's, Mr. Bowles', and mine own, and all such books of my late husband as I have placed on the highest shelf in my study at Ellinthorpe, upon the left hand as we go in, and next toward my bed chamber there, and my newest curtains, Quilt, Cabinet, glass and screen.

I give unto my daughter, the Lady Brooke, his mother, her late husband's little picture and my silver Posset Cup and Cover.

I give unto the rest of my grand children and great grand children as followeth

To my grand daughter, Mrs. Bethell, my own diamond ring and to her daughter, my great grand daughter, Priscilla Bethell £100 To my dear grand daughter Mrs. Priscilla Place, £200, my striking watch, my coach and horses, and the remainder of the furniture of my best sowed bed and of the chamber where it stood at Ellinthorpe, which she has not had. "The Assemblies Annotations upon the Bible," and the $\frac{1}{2}$ of my best Puder in the press in the entry at Ellinthorpe, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ of my best Linen which is laid up in the drawers in the White Room at Ellinthorpe, and also the $\frac{1}{4}$ part of all such of my books in which I have writ my name with mine own hand, after my Executor, Mr. Bendlowes, hath first chosen 3 or 4 which he hath a mind unto.

And the other $\frac{1}{2}$ of the same Puder I give unto my said grandson, Sir James Brooke, and the other half of the said Linen, I give to said Sir James and his sister Deborah to be equally divided between them

To my great grand daughter Mrs. Priscilla Place I give £200, 5 silver pottingers, 6 silver plates, 6 silver spoons, 3 silver forks.

To my grand daughter Mrs. Proctor my 2 silver salvers.

To my grand daughter Mrs. Anne Brooke £300 and my Harpsicall.

To my grand daughters Mrs. Deborah and Honor Brooke £500 apiece.

To my grand daughter Mrs. Anne Brooke £300.

To my 3 grandsons John, Henry and Thomas Brooke £100 apiece.

To my dear grandson Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, one of my Executors, to his Family brothers and sisters as follows:—

To Sir Marmaduke £600. To his wife Lady Wyvill my grand daughter, her husband's little picture and £100.

To my great grand daughters Henrietta Maria and Anne Wyvill £100 apiece.

To my 3 grandsons Darcey, William & John Wyvill £200 apiece.

To my grand daughter Mrs. Ursula Wyvill I give the £500 which my son Sir William Wyville, her father, borrowed and secured by Bond in names of Right Honourable Anne Darcy, said Ursula Wyvill and Thomas Bendlowes, my executor.

To my grand daughter Mrs. Priscilla Wyvill I give the £100 which her late father borrowed of me and secured by Bond, etc., and £200 more and my white sowed bed with the Furniture of the bed and chamber where it stood in Ellinthorpe House, and also $\frac{1}{4}$ part of my books wherein my name is writ in mine own hand, of which I desire her to give $\frac{1}{2}$ to her sister, Mrs. Ursula if she wishes for them.

I give to my 3 great grandsons, Rowland, John and James Place £100 apiece. And whereas my grand daughter Priscilla Place, their mother, is now with child, I give £100 to the child when born.

(Directions given to Executors to pay Legacies, etc., to grandsons and great grandsons when they attain the age of 21 and if any of Sir James Brooke's brothers die before the age of 21 their legacies are to revert to Sir James Brooke. The legacies left to Sir John Brooke's children and grand children to be paid out of the money lent by Testatrix to Sir John Brooke and Sir James Brooke. Legacies to Sir Marmaduke Wyville and sisters to be paid out of money owing by Sir Marmaduke to Testatrix.)

Legacy to nephew Thomas Jackson £10, to Stephen, Dorothy and Grace Jackson £10 apiece. To cousin Mary Wilson 3 pieces of plate for sugar, pepper and mustard. To dear friend Lady Hewley my diamond ring which I bought last. To my cousin Mrs. Frances Pudsey £30 and the silver can which she gave me. To cousin Mrs. Jane Waite £5. To cousin Priscilla Elliner £5 and £5 to her children. To Mr. Thomas Bendlowes of Howgrave the elder, his wife, children and grandchildren with whom I lived for many years last past as follows viz. To Mr. Thomas Bendlowes £300 and all my household and other goods at Howgrave, and Mr. Poole's "Annotations on the Bible" for his life. To my dear friend Mrs. Anne Bendlowes my great silver salt, 4 little silver salts, 1 silver plate, 9 silver spoons, 1 silver pottinger, 1 silver fork, 4 little silver spoons, 1 looking glass, 1 dressing box, 1 silver Quicknot, my own, Lady

Watson's and Mr. Bowles' Pictures. To Mrs. Hannah Bendlowes my Cabinet, stand, and last diamond ring and £100 in Mr. Warcopp's hands and $\frac{1}{4}$ part of my books I give to her and sister Katharine To Mr. John Bendlowes £20. To Mr. Hayford Wainwright and wife and daughter £100. To my servants Robert Wright coachman £5 Dorothy Newton £5 to my servant boy £5. To Jane Cotton £2. To Henry Addwell £3. To Mr. Ralph Ward, Noah Ward, Thomas Cotton, Richard Frankland, Cornelius Todd, Oliver Haward, George Long, Thomas Dixon, William Topham, Captain William Jackson, Thomas Ryles, Mrs. Hobson, Mrs. Durant, John Ryles £10 apiece. To 12 Poor Women a coat of Black Baije. To the poor of Aldborough £15. To poor of Kirby Hill £5. To poor of Myton £5. To poor of Howgrave £10.

Legacy to some allowed Dissenting Minister. Executors Sir M. Wyvill and Thomas Bendlowes.

I do desire that Sir James Brooke accept Ellinthorpe, house garden and farms, but without causing trouble to the Executors.

Bequests to buy mourning.

Item.

I give unto my Executors, Sir M. Wyvill and T. Bendlowes and to my beloved friends Ralph Ward, of York, Andrew Taylor, of York, merchant, Hayford Wainwright, of Grays Inn and John Bendlowes and the Survivors of them £500 upon this Special Trust that they shall place the said sum out either in safe hands or in the purchase of some estate or lands, and with the product thereof provide some Non Conformist Minister, sound in the Faith, who will take the Oaths and make subscription to the Articles of Religion (except as is now allowed by Law) to preach every Sabbath in Ellinthorpe Chapel, so long as my grandson, Sir James Brooke and his heirs be and continue the owners of Ellinthorpe and will under their hands and seals give liberty to such Non Conformist Minister to preach there, and to and for all persons who wish to come then to hear them, And upon Sir James or his heirs refusing to give such liberty, then I desire my Trustees to provide some place as near to Ellinthorpe as possible. And if such Non Conformist Ministers shall be ever again allowed to come into Parish Churches and Livings by Law Then I do hereby declare that the said £500 is given upon this further Trust that the Trustees employ the whole or part at their discretion, for the Instruction of poor children in reading and writing English and in the knowledge of the Reformed Christian Religion according to the Holy Scriptures by catechism and other instruction And for that purpose to buy and distribute

English Bibles and Catechisms, and pens, ink and paper etc, and to give fitting allowances to fitting Instructors. And I appoint that the Majority Vote of the Trustees be final. And as often as Trustees shall die the surviving Trustees to elect persons to fill the vacancies, such new Trustees to have full powers. Any school books in my study at Ellenthorpe to go to my son Brooke's younger sons. And I make it my dying request to my grandson Sir James Brooke and his heirs to grant liberty as above said. If Sir James grants this dying request then I bequeath £50 more to him. But if he refuses then I revoke all legacies to him, such legacies to be devoted to the pious uses mentioned above.

(Proved 28 April, 1692)

PRISCILLA BROOKE.



WHERE WERE THE BRIGANTES?

By MARY KITSON CLARK.

The answer was given by Haverfield in the following terms—

“The Brigantes lived . . . in what is now Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham and Cumberland.”¹

The writer proposes to review the grounds and implications of this statement.

The evidence for the location of the Brigantes is considerable; it can be arranged into four groups in order of importance:

1. Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary.
2. Inscriptions mentioning the name.
3. The Annals and Agricola of Tacitus, and other literary references.
4. “Brigantian” coins.

1. According to Ptolemy (II.3) the Brigantes stretched from sea to sea, they lay south of the Selgovæ and the Otadini, and their towns included, among others,² *Vinnovium*, Binchester (identified partly on place-name evidence); *Caturactonium*, Catterick (an uninterrupted history of the place-name, *Place-names of the N.R.*, Yorks., xv–xvi, 242; Ekwall, *Dict. Eng. Place Names*, p. 86); *Olicana*, more doubtfully Ilkley (position and possibly place-name evidence, *Y.A.J.*, xxviii, 311–313, 320–21); *Eburacum*, certainly York (inscriptions, presence of the Sixth Legion, which is mentioned by Ptolemy and in the Itinerary, and place-name evidence; Ekwall, *Dict. Eng. Place Names*, p. 519); *Isurium*, Aldborough by Boroughbridge (road connexions with Catterick and York, and probable connexion of the name with the name of the river Ure; Ekwall, *Dict. Eng. Place Names*, p. 465). *Isurium*, suiting well with the distance thrice repeated in the Itinerary (i, ii and v), seems to be the same as *Isubrigantum* = *Isurium Brigantum*—that is, on analogy with *Venta Icenorum*, etc., *Isurium*, the Roman cantonal town of the Brigantes.

¹ *V.C.H.*, Derbyshire, i, 200.

² *Epiacum*, *Calagum*, *Rigodunum*, *Camulodunum*. It should be noted that Ekwall, in his *Dictionary of English Place Names*, derives the names of both Ilkley and Binchester from post-Roman sources (pp. 41, 250), and definitely denies the con-

nexion between *Olicana* and Ilkley (never pressed by Woodward, *Y.A.J.*, as above). With regard to Binchester, we must remember that it has been pointed out that had we not known the Roman name of York we should be quite content to regard it as a purely post-Roman name.

2. Two pigs of lead, dated to the seventh consulate of Domitian, bear on their side the letters BRIG, and were found near old lead workings near Dacre Bank, Pateley Bridge, Yorkshire (W.R.)—about 18 miles from Aldborough and 22 miles from York.

In addition there are eight dedications to a Brigantian deity, which fall into two geographical groups; altars from Adel, Longwood near Slack, Greetland, and Castleford,¹ were found in South-West Yorkshire, within 40 miles of York and Aldborough. The other four dedications occur around Hadrian's Wall, nearly 100 miles north of the others, at Corbridge, South Shields, Birrens in Scotland, and somewhere near Castlesteads in Cumberland.²

3. The Brigantes are mentioned as early as the mocking descriptions of Claudius' death (A.D. 54),³ and when the Romans were proceeding against the Decangli in Flintshire, early in the conquest, they attacked the Roman forces in the rear (*Annals*, xii, 32).⁴ This means that in the first century they must have been within striking distance of the midlands. Later, Caratacus, after successfully raising the Silures and the Ordovices against the Romans, escaped to the Brigantes (the Ordovices, according to Ptolemy, lying below, *i.e.*, south, and to the west of the Brigantes). Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes, was in her turn rescued by a Roman column.⁵ Thus one can be fairly confident that the Brigantes lay for perhaps twenty years along the Trisantonæ or Trent frontier, which is now recognised to be mentioned in a corrupt passage of Tacitus (*Annals*, xiii, 31). On the other hand, when Agricola proceeded northwards, nearly thirty years later, Petilius Cerialis had already conquered the Brigantes⁶; so that the beginning of Agricola's campaigns, did we know where it was, would give us a northern limit to the Brigantian territory.

Later mention in literature does not help us much. Pausanias confuses us when he tells us that the Emperor Pius annexed or cut off the greater part of the Brigantian territory, because the Brigantes had overrun the Genounian moira; but we have no clue to the whereabouts of this district.⁷

¹ *C.I.L.*, vii, 200, 203; *Eph. Ep.*, vii, 920, ix, 1120.

² *Eph. Ep.*, ix, 1141, 1138; *C.I.L.*, vii, 875, 1091, 1062.

³ *Apocolocyntos Divi Claudii*, Ch. 12.

⁴ Probably under Ostorius Scapula, 47–52 A.D.

⁵ *Annals*, xii, 40; *Histories*, iii, 45—57–58 A.D.

⁶ Agricola 17, *J.R.S.*, xv, 182–4,

xviii, 98–9. Fortress established at York *c.* 71 A.D.

⁷ The name perhaps occurs in a fifth-century writer—Stephanus Byzantinus, *c.* 490 A.D. Briges-Brigas, a Britanic nation (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, vol. xxxv), and if so, this is interesting as a survival. *Bernicia*, the northern half of the Northumbrian English kingdom, is said to be divided from *Brigantia* (Ekwall, *E.P.N.S.*,

4. A pre-Roman coinage has been found in Yorkshire; scattered coins occurring in Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire, and three hoards at Lightcliffe, Honley and Almondbury, in the west. The ascription of this coinage to the Brigantes is certain because the name "Cart" occurs on one type of the series, a name that can only be identified with Cartimandua.¹

Such is the main evidence; and two points emerge from it at once—that the Brigantes are found pretty far south during the early part of the conquest, and that the evidence, of every date, converges on Western Yorkshire, especially South-West Yorkshire; here is *Isurium* of the Brigantes, here the Brigantian lead mines, here a good half of the Brigantian dedications, here the most numerous Brigantian coins: and one of these same hoards of coins was found in the ditch of a superb hill fort, almost the only Yorkshire fort of the elaborate southern type. The conclusion is irresistible that this was Cartimandua's or Venutius's citadel; and it has been suggested that Almondbury should be identified with *Camulodunum*,² a Celtic name which has a termination meaning a fort, and comes in Ptolemy's list after, that is south of, *Eburacum*.

Almondbury has never been excavated, so these are guesses. But even if not *Camulodunum*, this must have been a Brigantian fortress of importance, and from its geographical position and the coins discovered there I think it was more likely to be the Brigantian capital than Stanwick, as Mr. R. G. Collingwood has recently suggested (*Roman Britain*, 1936, pp. 67, 110).

Stanwick earthworks, near Aldborough St. John, Yorkshire, N.R., merit a digression. The type of site is quite different from Almondbury, and probably the purpose of the earthworks also was different. They are considerably further north than Almondbury, further north than Catterick, and near the Tees; they consist of huge banks and ditches, enclosing a gently undulating valley, with a stream running down the middle of it. The earthworks seem to be composite and of different dates, because there are:

1. Possible duplicate line of earthworks on the south.
2. Certain duplicate extension at the east angle near Henah

vol. i, pp. 20-22, 1929); if so, this would raise the question why the name only survived north of the Tees. But as this derivation has been disallowed by others it is safest not to take it into consideration.

¹ This has been recently rediscussed by the late Mr. G. C. Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, 1933, Pt. 11, V.s. No. 50, pp.

118-20, where he made clear that the Brigantian coinage is latest of the British series—third-hand copies derived from the Eastern counties and not direct from Gaul. That is as one would expect.

² Richmond, *Huddersfield in Roman Times*, pp. 83-4. Very significant is the meaning of the name—"hill fortress of Camelos, god of War."

Hill (this line has been partially destroyed since McClaughlan saw it, but it is still traceable).¹

3. The circular walled churchyard within the enceinte has traces of ditches round it—more is visible than McClaughlan recorded.
4. Within the enceinte and opposite the churchyard a small natural plateau is surrounded by bank and ditch. At an angle of this plateau, by the modern ice-house, another long dyke crosses these banks and the upcast of its ditch fills the encircling ditch.
5. The same long dyke mentioned above bisects the eastern part of the enceinte without apparent reason.

Stanwick has not been excavated and there are no data for a close dating of any part of the complex. In part, at least, it is pre-Viking, for the name Stanwick, of the same formation as *Stanwix* (Norse=stone walls, *P.N.N.R.Y.*, p. 296), and the neighbouring name of Aldborough, most probably refer to the earthworks. These place-names alone make it highly improbable that the enceinte is medieval (Elgee, *Arch. Yorks.*, p. 233).

Jack or Scot's Dyke, between Tees and Swale, seems to take account of Stanwick in its general layout. If Scot's Dyke was the boundary of the kingdom of Catraeth, Stanwick may have been in use in the Dark Ages.²

The provenance of the famous late-Celtic hoard of armour and horse-trappings is not clear; but late *bronze-age* objects have certainly been ploughed up within the enceinte.³

In fact the history of Stanwick is obviously something so complicated, and at present so obscure, that I do not see that we can be sure that it was a Brigantian centre in the same way that we can be sure that Almondbury was; and it lies rather to the outside of that south-western nucleus to which we have referred.

From the nucleus let us go to the confines. We are told that the Brigantès were the most numerous tribe of the whole province (*Agric.* 17); but did they extend into modern Scotland? On the east they did not, for High Rochester is *Bremenium* (*C.I.L.*, p. 1030) in the county of the Otadini (Ptolemy). Of Birrens Mr. Birley says, "The dedication to Brigantia from Birrens need prove no

¹ *Arch. Journ.*, vi, 339.

² Armitage, *V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 55-7, 60-61—Dark Ages Map, O.S. It was said to be somewhere near here that James the Deacon remained when Paulinus fled, and the church enclosed by the enceinte is at least a pre-Norman foundation. Catraeth

has been identified with Catterick. A bronze buckle of Dark Age or Pagan Saxon date from Stanwick is in the B.M. (*Ant. Journ.*, vol. xi, 1931, p. 128. B.M.A.S. Guide).

³ Socketed axe in the Black Gate, Newcastle; socketed spear in the B.M.

more that Birrens was in Brigantian territory than the Carvoran inscriptions to the Syrian goddess need prove that the wall was in Syria" (*Arch. Ael.*, vol. vii, 1930, p. 172). While agreeing with Sir George Macdonald that the two cults are hardly to be compared in these terms, we can still find reason in Mr. Birley's implication, although it threatens the validity of some of our evidence.

The army was a notorious carrier of strange gods. We know that at least one Brigantian was conscripted into the auxiliaries and served and died in the far north, but we do not therefore count his grave's foreign earth forever Brigantian (*C.I.L.*, p. 1091; *Eph. Ep.*, vol. ix; Macdonald, *Roman Wall*, p. 352; Mumrills). We also know that another altar to celestial Brigantia and Dolichene Jove was subscribed by a centurion of the Sixth Legion.

Might it not be possible that Brigantia accompanied the armies to the north and was not discovered there? These four dedications¹ all come from military sites; the only one that implies she is a local goddess is the dedication to the nymph Brigantia, from Cumberland.²

This argument is double-edged, for it can be applied to the southern group of inscriptions—Castleford and Greetland are suspected to be military sites, Adel is not proven, Longwood is near Slack. But discount these dedications completely and still we cannot explain away the Brigantian lead and Cartimandua's coins³; whereas no such evidence has yet been found about Hadrian's Wall.

One point is very interesting. It is to the Brigantian victory that the altar at Greetland was dedicated in the early third century—that is to say, well after the rising deduced by Haverfield and the "annexation" by Pius. Brigantia at Birrens was winged and carried spear and shield⁴; and again, it was to the Brigantian victory that the altar at Castleford was dedicated. This proves that the Brigantian name, and therefore the Brigantian nation,

¹ Birrens—*C.I.L.*, vii, 1075; *Eph. Ep.*, ix, 1231. Corbridge—*P.S.A.N.*, 3rd s., ix, vii, 186–7. South Shields: *Eph. Ep.*, p. 1139. Castlesteads district: *C.I.L.*, vii, 900.

² Presence of members of the Sixth Legion, whose headquarters was in the Brigantian territory, can be proved at Corbridge and Birrens. We remember that probably the second cohort of the Lingones moved from Ilkley to Thoresby, Cumberland (Woodward, *Y.A.J.*, xviii, 30).

³ So far nothing definitely military

has been produced from Adel; and Mr. Richmond writes "Longwood is certainly not military, but a local shrine below a great scar."

⁴ Brigantia is also robed like Minerva and wears a mural crown like Cybele. Taken with the epithet 'celestial' (Corbridge) this probably shows a desire to make Brigantia as much as possible a vital goddess. I owe to Mr. Richmond the distinction between the local spirit and the universal goddess implied by the epithets 'nymph' and 'celestial.'

was not permanently dishonoured, and suggests that the civilised north felt not allied to, but opposed to, the barbaric north; that the victory of the armies in which their young men fought was also the victory of the country behind the armies. That country we cannot with certainty place any further north than Cumberland on the west and Durham on the east; perhaps not even so far.

Mr. Richmond points out that the names of two towns assigned to the Brigantes in Ptolemy's list—*Rigodunum* and *Portus Setanti-orum*—imply local tribal centres; and this suggests that analysis of the Brigantian confederacy would reveal other tribes subordinate but separate. We should like to know whether the Parisii were subordinate at the time of the conquest; for the whole archæology of the East Riding of Yorkshire, where they are usually placed, is so different from that of the West that the present writer feels no certainty that the Roman conquest of the wolds was due to a desire to "cripple the *Brigantes* by ravaging their best agricultural land" (R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain*, p. 67—italics the writer's). The parallel excavations of Brough on the Humber and Aldborough on the Ure may do something to clear up this point.

The facts have been stated, and imagination may now be permitted. We suppose that the period of the Roman conquest occurred at a time when the Brigantes were organising themselves on the South British model; central oppida were being built, coins struck, alliances sought, suzerainty enforced to the north and west and perhaps to the east; Roman conquest of southern rivals was welcome and so were Roman subsidies; some desired peace with Rome for the sake of consolidation; others saw that Rome herself was consolidating and would not stop at the Trent and Humber.

We deduce this not merely from the story of Venutius and Cartimandua but from an apparent scarcity of hill forts in Yorkshire; either of the large and elaborate southern type, or of the numerous minute type common to the country round Hadrian's Wall. If this scarcity can be substantiated, it shows that the phase of tribal warfare was only reached with Cartimandua, and was almost immediately put down for ever by Roman arms.

What followed was a reorganisation of the Brigantian nucleus into a tribal canton under Roman superintendence. We may suspect, but we do not know, that this nucleus was shorn of its overlordship; especially if each important Roman fort, as the advance proceeded, was a potential centre of government.¹ But at

¹ (a) Because the military commander of the fort *might* be responsible for the quiet and well-being of the immediate neighbourhood. (b)

Because as the *vicus* of the fort grew into a small town and local centre, it appears to have received its own local government (Chesterholm).

the same time we envisage broken men and irreconcilables flying north and west; and, for all we know, Venutius played the part of Caratacus, and endeavoured to raise other tribes against the Romans. Possibly such refugees carried the Brigantian name with them to other parts of the British Isles.¹

We may suspect, but we do not know, that *Isurium Brigantum* was a Roman creation; and the choice of this crossing of the Ure may have something to do with the adjacent Brigantian lead mines, as well as with the cross traffic of the Vale of York and the Pennines.²

We do not know if it was the Romanised Canton that caused trouble in the second century; the fact that Julius Frontinus rebuilt Brough in Derbyshire suggests that it was. It may have been, however, the fringe of more turbulent subject tribes. Fancy suggests that the south-western Brigantes of the Pennines were jealous of the new cantonal centre at *Isurium*; but it is only fancy. It is also fancy that the revolt or secession was the effort of a self-conscious unit to migrate as a whole in the old barbaric way, after seventy years of Roman rule had proved the full weight of Roman taxation, recruitment, and perhaps dues connected with the trunk-routes of Yorkshire. But whatever happened, it is no guesswork that the Brigantian name remained and was not destroyed; that in the very district where Cartimandua's savage citadel stood, decent folk glorified as Brigantian the victories of the Roman armies.

To summarise: (1) No district has produced so much evidence of the continuous existence of the Brigantes as W. Yorkshire, particularly SW. Yorkshire. (2) In time, the Brigantes appear to have been fairly thoroughly Romanised.

I emphasise these facts, because, even if only to a minor degree, they must affect our view of the Roman conquest and all the Northern risings and invasions; and sometimes they appear to be forgotten.

Note that in Derbyshire the census taken in the second century was of the men of *Anavio* (Brough), not of the Brigantes as such.

¹ Were the Irish Brigantes refugees of this type ?

² (a) Aldborough is surprisingly close to Malton on the one hand and Pateley Bridge on the other (26 miles and 18 miles). (b) The archæological background of the Brigantes is as yet very sketchy. Late Celtic bronzes occur, besides Stanwick, at *Isurium*, Flasby and Cotterdale in the middle of the Pennines, Haughton-le-Skerne

in Durham, Rise and Thorpe near Rudston in the East Riding. The Chariot Burials of the Wolds belong to an earlier period. Forts of an iron-age type *seem* to be comparatively scarce, but they do exist in West Yorkshire (not on the Wolds), and the evidence has never been thoroughly examined. The dykes, typical of the Wolds, and probably iron-age, seem to be absent from West Yorkshire. Known iron-age villages have not been carried back beyond Roman times.

YORKSHIRE SCHEDULED MONUMENTS.

The list recently published includes the following Yorkshire monuments added during the year ended 31 Dec., 1937. They are all in Section B.

B

CROSS

Masham Cross-shaft in
Churchyard

ECCLESIASTICAL

Archbishop Roger's Palace,
Cloister Arcade, York

EARTHWORKS

Castles:
Bardsey Castle Hill
Crofton T' Hall Garth
Sheriff Hutton

MONASTIC

Bayle Gate, Bridlington
St. Peter's Hospital, York
(Part of undercroft)

ROMAN

Roman Villa Site, Gargrave

E. W. CROSSLEY.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE, 1937.

EDITED BY MARY KITSON CLARK.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE. Mr. I. A. Richmond gave an address to the R.A.C. Conference in July, which it is hoped that he will extend into a more elaborate study, but which may be briefly summarised as follows: "Yorkshire is the only county in England which embraces the territory of two native tribes—namely, the Parisii settled round Bridlington Bay, and the Brigantes in the North and West Ridings. It appears that only one military establishment has been identified among the Parisii—at Malton: therefore they seem to have been a peaceful and sedentary people. On the other hand excavations at Elslack, Slack, Castleshaw and Ilkley shew that Western Yorkshire in the first and second centuries was studded with forts connected by a network of military roads, apparently needed to patrol, police, and tax the poor and semi-nomadic inhabitants of the dale villages. How this system worked, how far it extended north and west, and how long it lasted, is yet unknown. Such sites as Elslack and Bainbridge were occupied at a very late date. The latter in particular would repay further investigation, while Catterick, on the Great North Road, is an example of a fine fort site quite untouched by modern excavation. If our knowledge of the military system of Western Yorkshire is incomplete, our knowledge of its civil life is negligible and might be extended by research other than excavation, as has been done in East Yorkshire. Sites at Bainesse, Well, Middleham, and Gargrave shew that both villas and villages undoubtedly existed, to bridge the gulf between the forts and the county town, *Isurium Brigantum*. This cantonal capital at Aldborough was a contrast to the tribal centre of the Parisii at *Brough*. Aldborough, comparatively large and prosperous, represented the drastic urban Romanisation found necessary amidst a tribe that had resisted Rome; Brough was minute and undeveloped—the fiscal centre of a rural district friendly to Rome. Both differed from the cosmopolitan Colonia at York. No work had been done there on the civil site equivalent to Mr. Miller's work on the Legionary Fortress, yet there was an equal possibility of discovering the defences of the town as of the fortress. At York there is a definite problem of first-rate importance awaiting our efforts."

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF ROMAN STUDIES. Mention has already been made of the visit of the Society to Leeds. But it seems apt to add that this is the main English-speaking society for the study of the Roman Empire, and that every serious student of Roman Yorkshire ought to consider whether he could not become a member. The Society holds meetings, maintains a library of books and lantern slides (all of which are available by post), and publishes a Journal of which an annual feature is an illustrated report of the current discoveries in Roman Britain. The Secretary is prepared to give help and advice. Her name is Miss M. V. Taylor, The Haverfield Library, Ashmolean, Oxford. The subscription is a guinea a year (half a guinea for student-associates). The next provincial meeting is to be held at Bristol and Bath in September, 1938.

YORK. A Roman road was discovered in 1936 running across the site of the Odeon Cinema. A very great quantity of pottery was also discovered, including a complete fourth-century mask-mouthed flagon on which a report was published by Dr. W. E. Collinge in the *York Philosophical Society Proceedings* for 1936.

M.K.C.

WEST RIDING.

ALDBOROUGH. In August and September, 1937, Mr. K. A. Steer directed the excavations undertaken by the Roman Antiquities Committee at Aldborough, Boroughbridge, by the kind permission of Sir Thomas and Lady Lawson-Tancred. It was considered desirable to check the results obtained at the NW. angle in 1937 by examining the defences at the diagonally opposite angle in the south-east.

A trench through the angle of the town defences revealed the footings of a large external bastion, and pottery from the gravel packed within the masonry of this bastion dated it to the early fourth century. This closely parallels the bastion footings at the NW. and NE. angles of the town defences. The town wall itself, 9 feet thick, stood from two to six courses high. Within the angle was discovered an internal four-sided tower, 17 feet square and standing to a height of 9 feet, in an excellent state of preservation. This strongly resembles the tower of which the remains are exposed in the SW. angle of the defences. The basement of the tower had been filled solid with sand when it was built, and the masonry of it was of one build with the town wall. Against the free face

of the tower, within the walls, were discovered the remains of a small hut, with domestic debris on the floor, and in the floor the skeleton of an infant.

A second trench through the eastern defences near the angle revealed that part of the town wall had been rebuilt in a very crude and unusual manner. Outside this rebuild was a skeleton with a knife in his pelvis—most probably his own knife from his girdle.

Among the small finds was an intaglio in excellent preservation, representing a hare in a chariot harnessed to a cock.

While the structural features revealed in 1937 agree with those of the defences already examined, there is a certain discrepancy between the conventional date of the stratified pottery from 1935 and 1937 which makes it very desirable to continue, at the earliest possible moment, our investigation of the defences of Aldborough. It is of first importance to establish when the wall of *Isurium* was built.

M.K.C.

ALWOODLEY (1). The York-Ilkley road has always been marked by the Ordnance Survey as identical with Alwoodley Lane and as crossing the Meanwood Beck near the Roman site at Adel. This line lies on a very ancient through-route from Bridlington, through York, to the Aire gap. Evidence is being collected that may give us the actual line of the Roman road east of Adel: until that is completed in map form it will be well to note here that houses built 1933–36 immediately to the *north* of Alwoodley Lane have exposed one, and sometimes two, disused road surfaces superimposed, and that the line was picked up east of the Leeds-Harrogate road by the discovery of road-surfaces on the golf course. The Ordnance Survey line may not here be the right one, and excavations on the Ordnance Survey line, further west (north-east of Adel Mill), have confirmed the existence of a Roman site but have failed to discover the Roman road. The whole problem therefore needs careful re-examination. This need is intensified as we approach Tadcaster and the junction of the east-west route with the main north-south route, where the existing evidence is embarrassingly rich, and warns us to expect a remodelled road system.

F.K.H.

ALWOODLEY (2). In 1935 a silver coin was discovered in building a house on the line of the Roman road. It was brought to the notice of Mr. G. Hinchliffe, of the Leeds Modern School, and is interesting as occurring on the line of the York-Ilkley road,

IMP SER GALBA

right

SPQR OB C S

within oak wreath

(cf. Cohen 286).

M.K.C.

BAWTRY, "ROMAN BANK"—negative evidence. Mr. H. E. Baker, of Brookfield House, Swinton, Yorks., reports that during rabbiting in the Roman Bank in 1937 he took the opportunity to cut the bank in fourteen places to the depth of a couple of feet, and scores of probes were made without hitting any paved road.

THE CRAVEN WAY. Dr. Villy sends us the following summary of some of his work in the Pennines—

"This outline does not profess to be accurate in detail, but there is enough evidence to substantiate the general course, by shewing that forgotten pieces of road of Roman type exist, which, taken with ancient roads now in use, link up to form a through-route.

"Branching from the Ilkley-Long Preston, etc., road in the upper outskirts of Settle, it proceeds by Castleberg Lane (under Castleberg, on which is a small earthwork possibly of Roman origin) and so by the older or east road up Ribblesdale for about a third of a mile. After a gap, it is taken up by the Langcliffe-Wilskill lane for a quarter of a mile, and then by a footpath (now interrupted by quarries) to join the main road from Settle shortly before Stainforth. In order to shew the nature of the evidence on which this note is based the southern part of this footpath may be described in detail as an average specimen. Very possibly the early part is not accurately on the line, but before long it comes to follow perhaps 200 yards of what has plainly been an engineered road, 17 feet wide, of cambered gravel placed on an artificial terrace. Though this is of the Roman type, one could not say for certain that it is not an old accommodation road except for two points: (1) field walls not of recent build cross it; (2) both walls and road are crossed by strip-lynchets, and there can be no doubt at all that the lynchets are more modern than the road, for they cut into and displace the gravel. We can say emphatically, therefore, that the road antedates the medieval type of cultivation.

"On clearing Stainforth it is this main road, followed by a lane, right down to the river a little above Helwith Bridge. For two miles there is little or no trace, but in about the same line it can be followed almost continuously from nearly a quarter of a mile west of Horton Station to join the road up the valley in

one mile. Mostly this road is the Roman road (certainly from Selside on) to Ribbleshead, where the Roman road crosses the Lancaster-Bainbridge road, and follows tracks, along most of which there is a right of way, over the north-east shoulder of Whernside, and down the spur between Dentdale and Deepdale. Thence it is the road down the west side of Dentdale, except that from a little short of Dent to Gawthorpe it is a footpath.

“Swinging west at the exit from Dentdale in order to get a good crossing of the Rawthey, it follows the county boundary down to the river, and so across by Brigg Flatts. Just before this crossing it is joined by the road north from Ribchester. One cannot decide which of the branches at Settle should be considered the main trunk and which as the limb; but the route gives and was plainly designed to give a connection between York and Carlisle. There seems very little reason for building such a connection after the Stainmore road was in use, and the suggestion may be hazarded that ‘Cravens’ way’ was the earlier of the two.

“A more detailed account of the course is given in the R.A.C. Bulletin of October, 1929, and in *The Bradford Antiquary*, part xxix, vol. vi, 1938.”
F.V.

Part of the course between West House, Dent, and Ribbleshead, has been followed on foot by other members of the R.A.C. A portion on the shoulder of Whernside, partially submerged by peat, fully bears out Dr. Villy’s contention that “forgotten pieces of road of Roman type exist,” and we are indebted to him for discovering and recording these, on this and on other occasions.

M.K.C.

BANK TOP FARM, GREETLAND. Under the auspices of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, Mr. W. V. Wade, a member of the Roman Antiquities Committee, conducted trial excavations near Bank Top Farm, Greetland. Their aim was to discover the Roman site from which must have come an altar dedicated to the Brigantian *Victory*, now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which was found in 1597 at the back of a house called “Thick Hollins.” This house has been identified with Bank Top Farm, which still incorporates a sixteenth-century building.

Unfortunately the results were entirely negative and no clue was discovered in the neighbourhood. Five trenches were dug between September 1 and 9, 1937, ranging from 25 to 87 feet long—in the farmyard, in the field east of the farmyard, and in the second field to the north of the farmyard. The subsoil nowhere lay deeper

than four feet from the surface, and the sole find of any antiquity was a single piece of flint. It seems clear that there can never have been an extensive Roman occupation "at the back of Thick Hollins," as the scatter from a large site would probably have been found, even if the site itself had been missed. But the house stands on the edge of a large level plateau in the confluence of two valleys, bounded by steep scars, and a small site is emphatically not ruled out.

Acknowledgments are due to Mr. Shaw, the owner, and Mr. Cunningham, the tenant, of Bank Top Farm for their kind permission to excavate—and also to the unfortunate excavator, who displayed the true scientific spirit in undertaking this archæological gamble. M.K.C.

HARROGATE. Mr. B. W. J. Kent reports the discovery of Roman coins in Stonerings Lane, opening off the east side of Almsford Bank, between Spacey Houses and Harrogate on the Leeds-Harrogate Road. They were found by Mr. Long when he was making a rockery.

Silver

IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP VII

laureate, right

IMP XIII COS XIII CENS PPP

? Minerva with helm and shield. Cohen 232

bronze

URBS ROMA left.

Wolf and Twins $\overline{\text{TRP}}$

Mr. Kent adds that Roman silver coins, now lost, have been found at Harlow Hill and Harlow Carr in the past.

RIBSTON HALL. Messrs. J. R. Ogden and B. W. J. Kent report that a complete Roman jar is preserved at Ribston Hall. It is five inches high, four inches at its greatest girth, where there are two girth grooves, the mouth is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and the base two inches. The everted rim, the ledge at the base of the collar, and the fact that the greatest width is at the middle rather than at the shoulder, suggests a date *c.* 200 A.D. But small jars are hard to date.

It was discovered when a tree blew down near the Hall.

PARK HILL, SKIPTON. Excavations undertaken in November, 1937, conclusively proved that the earthwork on Park Hill is seventeenth-century and not Roman. M.K.C.

SCHOLES. Mr. J. C. Kettlewell reports that a Roman quern has been found between Seacroft and Scholes, near the northern end of the new ring road between Barwick Lane and its junction with Crossgates Road and Austhorpe, Leeds.

UPTON NEAR LANE. A hoard of coins from Upton near Lane was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, vol. ix. Mr. C. J. Baines has recovered five coins from this hoard which apparently are additional and were not published. They are all bronze—Victorinus (Cohen vi, 90); Tetricus I (Cohen vi, 111 (?); Tetricus (Cohen vi, 88); Tacitus (Cohen 143); Probus (Cohen vi, 334). The two coins of Tetricus may be duplicates. It is extremely likely that some of the hoard was dissipated on its discovery, and that these coins were scattered.

WETHERBY. Mr. W. Mellor reports that querns and coins were found in excavating for the foundations of the new Rural District Council Offices at Wetherby, about sixty yards from the Roman cemetery. The querns are two upper portions of bee-hive querns. The coins, both bronze, were Constantine II (GLORIA EXERCITUS) and Valens (reverse not given). Mr. Mellor was only able to secure one coin, but he has obtained the querns.

NORTH RIDING.

AISLABY. Mrs. Elgee reports that Mr. James Patterson, the Warden of the Roman road, Wade's Causeway, discovered in 1935 a further length of about 400 yards in a plantation bordering the Egton road west of Aislaby church. The total width is 17-18 feet where it has been uncovered, and although the "paving stones" have been removed the curb and the ditches are traceable.

It is understood that this road is to be traced further in 1938.

It is only fair to add that the late Mr. H. P. Kendall always denied that this stretch of road was a true continuation of Wade's Causeway, but, he said, it was comparatively recent and was connected with local quarries.

Be that as it may, a disused stretch of road of Roman type on a possible Roman line is always worth recording on the chance that further evidence may appear.

CREYKE HILL. In making a tennis lawn at his home on Creyke Hill Mr. E. N. Rutter discovered the remains of a medieval pottery. Mr. Corder reports that among these and other antiquities of different dates were a few fragments of a signal station cook-pot.

GILMONBY. Mr. Walker found the rim and upper part of the neck of a Romano-British flagon, lying on its face in soft earth, where it had been washed out of the peat in Churt Gill on Gilmonby Moor, near Bowes, N.R. Yorks. Mr. Walker is gamekeeper to Captain Gilbert Dugdale, M.C., of Gilmonby Hall, who has presented the flagon neck to Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.

Acknowledgements are due to Miss L. F. Chitty, who recognised the object, and to Major-General Sir John Headlam, through whom the flagon neck was recovered for Yorkshire.

It has a heavy lip, and a single ledge or groove round the neck suggestive of a "screw neck"; the handle has been broken off, and there are signs of another handle; the paste is dark-grey and coarse; the walls are thick. The flagon neck has been so roughly and carelessly made that although it has been very badly distorted in firing I am more inclined to regard it as the waste product of a local village pottery than a throw-out from an efficient standardised kiln. The colour, unusual in a flagon, may therefore be intentional, and not merely the result of an accident in manufacture.

M.K.C.

GRINTON. Under the auspices of the Roman Antiquities Committee, and by kind permission of the owner, Mr. J. T. Gill, and the tenants, Messrs. J. Camm and J. Robinson, in October, 1937, Mr. R. Pedley made trial excavations in two earthworks at Grinton, Swaledale (O.S. 6", Yorks. N.R. 111, NE.). These consist of two fortified glacial mounds on the south bank of the Swale, separated by a pond to which each of them slopes steeply. They are near the present crossing of the Swale, and not far from modern roads into Wensleydale. Standing only half a mile east of the junction of Swaledale and Arkengarthdale—the natural line of communication with the north-west, and similar to the Bainbridge site in everything but size—it is difficult to suppose that the Romans would have neglected this fine site had they wished to establish a station in Swaledale linking up Bainbridge or Catterick with the Stainmore chain of forts.

The eastern hill is rectangular; a flat internal platform about half an acre in area has been surrounded by a ditch and counterscarp on the steep northern and western slopes, a mound on the level southern side, and traces of ditch and counterscarp on the east, where the slope is gradual. It was found that the mound consisted of earth and stones piled on the old turf level (of which fragments were found). No trace of an inner rampart on the NW.

was discovered, and no traces of building or occupation in the interior. There may have been an entrance on the east; there is no sign of one on the other sides.

The western hill is surrounded by a mound at the foot of the slope on the east and south, rising to the top of the slope on the west. On the top of the hill remains of one if not two stone-built buildings were discovered, and from these came three pieces of green-glazed pottery and a jetton, or token coin, dated to the early fourteenth century. Medieval occupation of the west hill is thus definitely established, and a strong presumption is created that the defences of both hills are medieval, as one hill affects the defensive strength of the other, and it seems highly probable that the east hill was used as an enclosure, very likely for cattle, by the people who occupied the hill to the west.

Only evidence of medieval occupation has come to light, and the case for a Roman police post in Swaledale is so far weakened.

R.P.

GUISBROUGH (1). We have examined a pre-Roman coin found about fifty years ago by Mr. T. Pallister of Guisbrough. It was amongst the material of an old jackdaw's nest in a rock cleft on the edge of Guisbrough Moor. This is the only known British coin from Cleveland. It is uninscribed and probably Brigantian. In the same material were also a copper token and a crooked sixpence.

(2) We wish to report a copper coin dug up by a Council workman in Recreation Field Allotments, Guisbrough, 1936. Radiate bust with illegible inscription.

HARLSEY, EAST. We have seen a silver denarius of Trajan found at East Harlsey.

F. and H. W. ELGEE.

IVELET. Mr. Fawcett, of Muker, reports that a lead spindle-whorl was found in a garden at Ivelet village. It has been described as Roman by the British Museum, and is roughly $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, with elliptical section, decorated with concentric circles and a cross-pattern.

NEWHOLM, NEAR WHITBY. Fragments of Roman pottery found before March, 1936, at Newholm have been submitted to Mr. M. R. Hull, M.A., Colchester Museum, who reports as follows—

“(a) Two fragments of a fine white-ware jug of shape well known and very common during the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius.

It probably remained in use to some extent under Nero, but I know of no record of it under Vespasian.

“(b) Three fragments of a Roman jug of coarse buff ware. The form is quite unidentifiable.

“(c) Two fragments of white ware with *applied* pattern in relief and exterior colour-coating. In some respects these resemble San Rémy ware, but San Rémy ware is moulded. *Probably* Roman; if so, first half of the first century and from a manufacturing similar to that of San Rémy en Rollat.”

We have not yet been able to inspect the site where the potsherds were found. We are indebted to Mr. H. Wilkinson, Riverside Gardens, Sleights, for the finds. F. and H. W. ELGEE.

REY CROSS. Mr. R. Gilyard-Beer reports that he found a Roman shard in a rabbit burrow in the titulus in front of the SE. gate of the large camp at Rey Cross—the camp that is bisected by the modern road. It is hard, light grey, with a moulded lip and a suspicion of a carinated shoulder. It seems to be from the neck of a long-necked jar or beaker, probably early second century in date.

THORNABY. Some years ago, about 1923, a fine sesterlius of Antoninus Pius was dug up in an allotment garden at Thornaby by Mr. F. Greenwell, Thornaby, who presented it to the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough. It dates from his third Consulship, 140 A.D. F. and H. W. ELGEE.

THORNTON DALE. Mr. C. G. Briggs reports the discovery of a coin of Constantinopolis, A.D. 330–337.

M. VICTORY. C.

TRS. X.

TREVERI

Mr. Mattingley's comment is “interesting but quite normal coin of Constantine I.”

WINDLESTONE—GRETA BRIDGE. It should perhaps be noted that the inscription “C.I.L. VII.279” found at Greta Bridge, has been moved to the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, from Windlestone.

EAST RIDING.

BROUGH. In 1937 our members Messrs. Philip Corder and T. Romans completed their final season at Brough-on-Humber.

The most striking result of their labours was the inscription discovered in the interior of the town—

OB HONOR em
DOMVS DIVI nae
IMP CAES T AELI hadri
ANI ANTONINI Aug pii
P P COS / / / /
ET NVMINIB Aug
M VLP IANVARIVS
AEDILIS VICI PETV ar
PROSCAEN ium / / / / /
DE SVO / / / / / / / /

It is dedicated to the honour of the Divine House of the Emperor Antoninus Pius and to the Spirits of the Deified Emperors by Marcus Ulpius Januarius, ædile of the village of *Petuaria*, and commemorates the provision of a stage for the community at his own expense. Thus it tells us not only the name of the town (*Petuaria*), giving most satisfactory confirmation of the excavators' guesses, but its status (*vicus*), and the fact that although but a village it had a Roman type of government; and further, the fact that even such a tiny town as *Petuaria* might possess a theatre. The date of its erection must have been soon after 138 A.D.

M.K.C.

EASTBURN. A full description of excavations here is given elsewhere in this number. The finds include pottery of Roman date.

FILEY. On the report that a Roman road had been found in Filey in 1937, the following information has been secured, which is derived from R. M. Robson, Esq., Architect and Surveyor, Filey.

1. Underneath the road in front of the Church Schools.

In 1898, when excavations were made to lay a main in the road in front of the Church Schools, a cobble-paved road was found about three feet below the present surface. The cobbles were set in cement, and apparently the Roman road followed the line of the modern road. Mr. Robson has a photograph showing the excavation and the surface of the Roman road.

2. Underneath Station Road (not Station Avenue)
about 300 yards from Filey Station.

In 1935, when the electric light cables were being buried in Station Road, the trench disclosed two stretches of paved road

about three feet below the present surface. The paving was rather larger than that in front of the Church Schools. One stretch was 22 feet long; then a gap of 15 feet; and then a second stretch of 15 feet. It would be difficult to say whether the line of Roman road was along or across the line of the modern road, but the field on the south side of the road is not yet built over at the point where these two stretches were seen, and no doubt a trial trench in the field would disclose more of the paved road.

3. Underneath the road which crosses the railway just outside Filey Station, about 40 yards east of the railway lines.

In February, 1937, workmen of the Filey Gas and Water Company, excavating to repair a main, found the hard surface of an old road about four feet below the level of the present road. The road was paved with stone; but only a very small portion was uncovered, and it is difficult to be certain that it was Roman. The present road at this point is quite modern, having been raised some feet on both sides of the level crossing at the time when the railway came to Filey. No doubt it is on the exact line of an older road from Filey to Muston, and it seems possible that the hard surface found was this road; but it is equally possible that it was Roman.

4. Underneath the road from Filey to Gristhorpe and Scarborough.

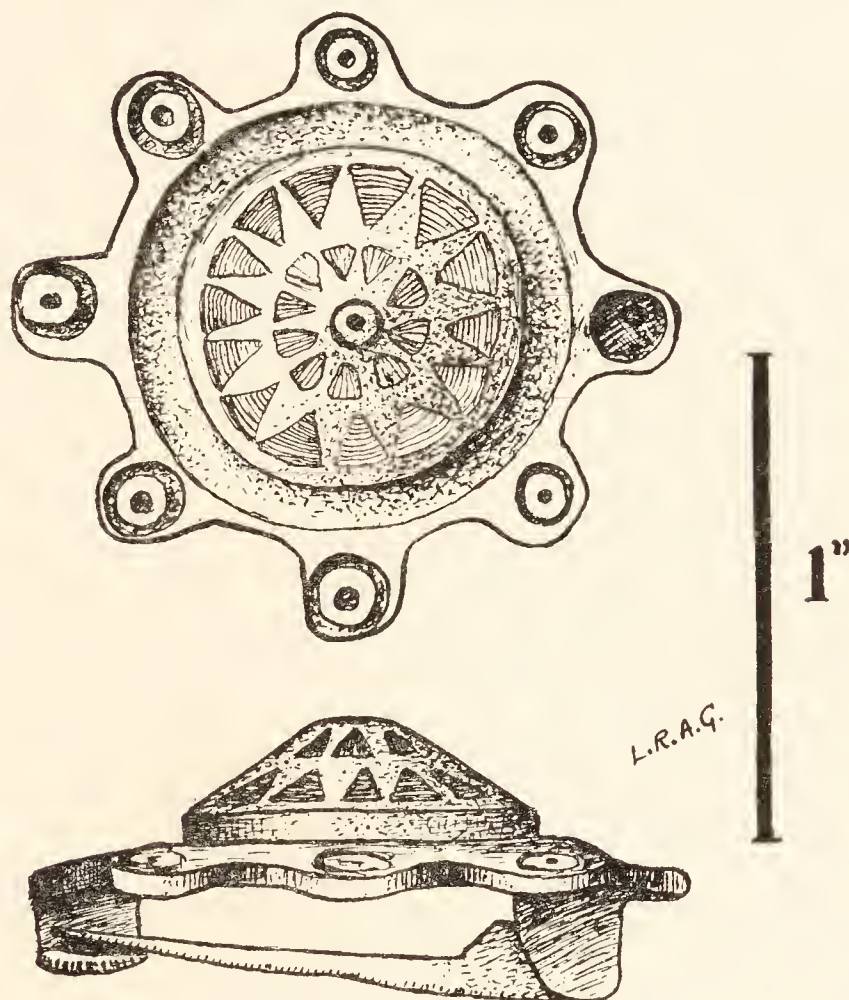
In 1935, when the electric cable from Scarborough was buried along the side of the main road to Filey, the trench exposed a paved road in two places at least—one close to Filey on the new housing estate, and another at Carless Hill near the farm marked Newbiggin on the 1-inch Ordnance map, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Filey towards Gristhorpe. At this point Mr. Robson picked a horseshoe, believed to be Roman, from the cobbled surface of the road disclosed by the trench.

It is to be noted that the paved pieces of road enumerated above as 1, 2 and 3 are not in a straight line.

If the piece of road at the level-crossing outside Filey Station is Roman it may give a clue to where the road from Malton to the Filey Signal Station on Carr Naze entered Filey; but so far no sign of this road has been found on the Muston side of the level-crossing, although a good deal of building development has taken place since 1918 along both sides of the road from Filey to Muston.

E.N.W.

HILDENLEY. A brooch found at Hildenley Wood, Malton (Yorks. N.R., sheet cxxiv, SW.), by Mrs. Soulby of Malton some forty years ago, is now in the possession of Mrs. Elston of Hazelgrove, Stockport. It is a bronze disc brooch of low cone shape, with wedges of enamel, red next to the apex and blue below. There are eight projecting lobes, each decorated with incised dot and circle. It is possibly of the second century A.D. L.R.A.G.



The Hildenley Brooch.

KNAPTON. In October, 1937, while digging a pipe-line diagonally across the front pasture field at Shaw's Farm, East Knapton, from the entrance gate to the house, the men found a human skeleton about eighty yards from the house. It was some two or three feet below the surface, within an area about three feet across, so it may have been in a crouching position. Roman pottery was found near, but not with, the skeleton, including a piece of a hand-made dish $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter (see Appendix to "A Roman Villa at Langton," fig. 30, nos. 19-20). R.S.H.

MALTON. In 1936 or 37 the following coin was found in the fields where the pipe track was on the York road, about three fields from Wray's Garage.

Denarius of Octavian as triumvir in Gaul, *c.* 40 B.C.

C CÆSAR [III VIR R PC]

right

thunderbolt

Q] SALVIVS[IMP COS DES ?

British Museum Catalogue I, p. 407, No. 3, 86 ff.

According to Mr. Mattingley, this is not a type commonly found in Britain.

The coin was reported by Mr. Wagstaffe to Dr. Kirk.

P.C.

NORTON. During work at the new Norton Church House, Roman graves have been disturbed. Three skeletons and two cinerary urns have been discovered, at a depth never greater than four feet. A deposit of sand and pebbles was noted, which recalls the conditions under which former finds were made in Norton.

Other pottery has been found, apparently ranging from the mid second century to the fourth. It is hoped that a full account will shortly be published. The complete pots will be preserved in the Church House, and the broken shards and various records made by Mr. L. R. A. Grove, Curator of York City Museum, have been deposited in the Roman Malton Museum.

RUDSTON. The fifth season's work at the Rudston Roman Villa was compressed into the first fortnight of August, and, as in 1936, practically the whole of the labour was supplied by past and present pupils from the Alsop High School, Liverpool, led by Mr. O. N. Jones.

The excavations were concentrated in the area immediately east of the boundary wall, where a second-century timber building had already been located (*Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 330). This proved to be no elaborate structure, but a small hut, roughly 15 feet by 6 feet, immediately overlying a filled pre-Roman ditch (*Ibid.*, fig. I), and from the occupation floor were recovered further fragments of Samian ware and second-century coarse types, together with a fine silver key-ring of a familiar pattern. The ditch-filling beneath the hut produced no further Parisian sherds, but a quantity of calcite-gritted ware and two "rustic" jars of late first- or early second-century date were found.

Between this point and the field hedge bordering the Rudston-Kilham road more stone outbuildings came to light, enclosed within and parallel to the boundary wall. Owing to the shallow depth of the remains hereabouts below the existing ground level,

the walls were never represented by more than one course, and all stratification had been disturbed by the plough; but from the disposition and construction of these buildings it seems probable that we have acquired further evidence for the general site-plan of the fourth-century villa. That this plan can never be completely recovered was demonstrated by the discovery of party walls on the north side of the field hedge within a few feet of the roadway.

The fifth season at Rudston must, it seems, conclude the programme of work undertaken by Mr. Woodward in 1933. The absence of surface indications of the pre-Roman ditches and of further Roman outbuildings would make continued exploration expensive, and it is doubtful whether the results would add much to the historical outline of occupation on the site as revealed by the last five years' work. This being so, it only remains to thank Mr. H. Robson and the members of the Rudston Excavation Committee for their active assistance and encouragement during the whole period of the work. No separate account of this year's excavation is contemplated, but it is hoped that a final publication, embracing all the interim reports, will be prepared within the near future.

K.A.S.

WATTON ABBEY. Mr. Sheppard reports the discovery by Mr. R. Pexton of a Roman quern at Watton Abbey. It is a nether stone of fine-grained millstone grit, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

[The Section, Reviews, Transactions, etc., of Yorkshire Societies, and Yorkshire Bibliography, is in charge of the Hon. Sec., E. W. CROSSLEY, Broad Carr, Holywell Green, Halifax, to whom all communications should be addressed. He will be glad to have his attention drawn to any items which may have been omitted.]

REVIEW.

The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York. By A. H. Smith. English Place-Name Society, Vol. XIV. London, 1937. Pp. lx+351. 18s.

When documentary evidence fails, the historian must rely on archæology to fill in the gaps in his narrative. To-day the labours of the English Place-Name Society are providing a mass of material from which we can, to a certain extent, check and supplement the results derived from archæological research. The value of such material is amply demonstrated in this, the latest addition to the publications of the Society, in which we can find confirmatory evidence for much of the early history of the district as revealed by the archæologist. To readers of Dr. Smith's earlier work on the place-names of the North Riding recommendation of this companion volume will be superfluous. In it they will find the same sound and exhaustive scholarship, the same cautious interpretation and brilliant synthesis. Moreover, since the proofs appear to have been checked by most of the eminent authorities on the subject, both in this country and abroad, a critic who would venture to disagree with any of the conclusions must do so at his own risk, and with a full realization that his own interpretation must be supported by exceptionally strong and relevant evidence. On one of the few points on which a non-specialist reader might venture to challenge the opinions of the place-name scholars, the modern pronunciation of the names (often of considerable importance to the interpretation), Dr. Smith has little to fear, though it is much more difficult for a stranger to obtain the dialectal pronunciation than the casual reader might suspect. Of those given in the book only in the case of Warter, Fimber and Wressell do we suspect that his informant has given the pronunciation as he thinks it ought to be, rather than as it actually is. The usual forms seem to be 'wa:ðər,' 'fimər,' 'rezl,' with retention of the final 'r' in the first two names and 'e' rather than 'æ' in the last.

The results of the survey are summed up in an interesting and valuable introduction, which begins with a description of the geological and topographical features of the Riding and their relationship to the early settlements. The Celtic population has left only slight traces in the place-names; apart from the chief river-names only York, Roos, possibly Beverley, and of course the name of the Old English kingdom of Deira appear to show Celtic influence. Incidentally we may note that, as pointed out in a review in the *Times Literary Supplement* of August 27th, evidence

has turned up, presumably too late for use by Dr. Smith, which definitely proves the identification of Brough with the Roman station *ad Petuarium*. The archæological evidence for the early settlement of the Angles is confirmed by the place-names, which indicate a twofold line of penetration, up the Humber to the south, and along the Wolds to the north of the Riding. The Scandinavian element is, as we should expect, considerable, but it seems to be almost entirely Danish, and the evidence for Norwegian influence, such as is to be found in the North Riding, is negligible. The only exception is in the street-names of York itself, where the strength of the Norwegian element shows "how the historical connexions of the kingdoms of York and Dublin in the early tenth century have left their impress on the local nomenclature."

The treatment of minor place-name material, such as field-names, is unavoidably disappointing. As Dr. Smith points out, there are only about a score of such names whose continuous history can be traced: most of the current field-names seem to be of comparatively modern origin. This is not surprising for the Wolds, the greater part of which were only enclosed at the beginning of last century, but, even for the parishes where such medieval material is large, there seems to have been little continuity in minor names.

Anyone interested in local history will find the volume indispensable. The political changes have often left their impress on the place-names, whilst the comparatively large number of lost villages bears witness to economic change and the ravages of the sea. In addition the value of the book to the student is greatly enhanced by the informative maps and exhaustive indices invariably provided by the editors of this series.

R. M. WILSON.

TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The East Riding Antiquarian Society's Transactions, vol. xxviii, part 2, contains—Excavations at Brough, E. Yorkshire, Third Interim Report, 1935, by P. Corder and Rev. T. Romans; Historical Documents relating to Hull District, by T. S.; Roman Remains at North Ferriby, by T. Sheppard; An Early Game of Crown and Anchor (?), by T. S.

The Halifax Antiquarian Society's Papers for 1936 (*continued*) contain—The Roman Altar from Greetland, by A. W. Whitley.

for 1937 contain—In Memoriam—Hugh Percy Kendall; Early Clothiers of Stanningden, by J. H. Priestley; Halifax Visitors' Book, vol. i, by W. B. Crump; Rectorial Manor of Halifax and Heptonstall—Court Rolls, by H. P. Kendall; The Account Books of Rev. John Lister, M.A., 1729–1759, by W. B. Trigg; Report on Excavations carried out at Bank Top Farm, Greetland, by W. V. Wade.

The Hunter Archæological Society's Transactions, vol. v, part 1, contains—The Shores of Sheffield and the Offleys of Norton Hall, by Lady Stephen; Attercliffe Theological Academy, by F. Bradbury; A Sheffield Chemist's Jottings in the Thirties, by John Austen; Edward Law, Sculptor, of Sheffield (1798–1838), his works and associates; Wages and Hours in the Britannia-metal trade at Sheffield, 1857–8, by J. E. Tylor; Crucks-built houses and barns, by J. B. Himsworth; Reviews, Notes, Lectures, Excursions.

The Thoresby Society's Transactions, vol. xxxvii, Miscellanea, part 1, contains—Christopher Danby of Masham and Farnley, by Clifford Whone; Letters of the Rev. George Plaxton, M.A., rector of Barwick in Elmet, by Miss E. M. Walker; Allotments and Awards under the Garforth Enclosure Act; The Leeds Steam Carriage Company.

The Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Annual Report for 1937 includes—English Enamelled Cast Brass in the Yorkshire Museum, by K. W. Sanderson.

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC.

The Antiquaries' Journal, vol. xviii, includes—A Romano-British Interment, with Bucket and Sceptres, from Brough, East Yorkshire, by P. Corder and I. A. Richmond (p. 66); Note on some Fragments of Illuminated Manuscripts (two leaves of an Antiphoner of York Use), late thirteenth century (p. 180).

The Archæological Journal, vol. xciv, includes—A paper on The Yorkshire Food Vessel, by Miss M. K. Clark (p. 42).

The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, vol. xlv, includes—Some Yorkshire Studies, by H. Bagenal (p. 610).

Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society, vol. x, includes—Linton Mires, Wharfedale: Glacial and Post-Glacial History, by A. Raistrick and K. B. Blackburn (p. 24).

Geography, vol. xxii, includes—Yorkshire River Navigation, 1600–1750, by T. S. Willan; Linton-in-Craven, West Yorkshire: A Study of a Pennine Dale Parish, by A. Raistrick.

The English Historical Review, vol. liii, includes—The Yorkshire Submissions to Henry VIII, 1541, by A. G. Dickens (p. 267).

The Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, vol. iii, includes—The Neolithic Pottery of Yorkshire, by Nancy Newbigin (p. 189); Note on Excavation of barrows at Ampleforth (p. 443).

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, Fifth Series, vol. x, includes—Northern Counties Pedigrees: (1) Roberts of Sheffield, (2) Winter of Sheffield (pp. 18 and 19), (3) and Sir William de Ros of Ingmanthorpe (p. 20), by S. N. Smith.

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[*Note*.—Books and Pamphlets are included in this list which have been issued from 1 Jan., 1925. The compiler will be glad to hear of any which may have escaped his notice.]

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The late Col. J. W. R. PARKER, C.B., F.S.A.,
President of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1913-1938.

(For obituary notice, see p. 228.)

EDITORIAL NOTES.

MIGRATION OF YORKSHIRE MSS.

The following MSS. from the Clumber Library have found their way into the British Museum.

- (1) A Collection of material for the history and the cult of St. Robert of Knaresborough, a. 1218, put together in the Trinitarian friary of Knaresborough.
- (2) An Account Roll for year 1437 of William Garth, receiver for the bailiwicks of the honour of Skipton. They include accounts for Skipton, Ayredale, Thorlby, New Park, Elso and Crokerise, Syghlesdon, Kettlewelldale, Malghdale, Burgh-graynes and Bardon. Whitaker gave some extracts in his *Deanery of Craven*, ed. 1878, p. 318.

—(*British Museum Quarterly*, xii, 79.)

E.W.C.

HARROGATE GROUP.

This movement continues to flourish under the able lead of its President, Mr. J. R. Ogden, F.S.A. Committees have been formed to conduct Excavations, Recording, Excursions and Lectures. The preliminary reports of two excavations are given below. Excursions have been made to Parcevall Hall (by kind invitation of Sir Wm. Milner), Burnsall Church, Newby Hall (by kind permission of Captain Compton), Kirby Hill Church, the Kirk Collection at York, and the Minster, when Chancellor Harrison gave a most instructive talk on the windows: also to Swinsty Hall and Scow Hall. These were all well attended, although in some cases we lacked the services of efficient guides. Lectures are being arranged for the winter. Further objects have been added to the collection of ancient stones in the Valley Gardens. Assistance is being given by the Cromwellian Association in the erection of a Battle Memorial on Marston Moor, and a site has been kindly promised by Sir Robert Newbald Kay. Mr. Ogden has generously defrayed the cost of repairing and rebinding the Registers of Kirby Hill Church. The membership of the group is now 287.

H.C.

CHARCOAL-KILN SITES NEAR PATELEY BRIDGE.

During a survey of a small Iron age site on Sigsworth Moor, of which a report will be published later, carried out by the Field

Survey Section, with the kind permission of Mr. T. F. Brewster, a low mound surrounded by a trench was observed nearby.

On the gradual slope, where the moor falls to Covell Houses Gill, the enclosed area, measuring 30 feet in diameter, is built up to a level surface, the encircling ditch being about 2 feet wide and 6 to 9 inches deep.

A trench dug through the ditch and central platform discovered a 6-inch layer of charcoal across the entire surface.

Two other similar sites, probably of Monastic date, were noticed in the vicinity.

H.J.S.

EXCAVATIONS AT GREEN HOW.

With the kind permission of the owner, Mr. G. Saddler, and of Mr. M. A. Wood, a start was made in May, 1938, on the excavation of Green How Tumulus, North Deighton, under the direction of Mr. B. W. J. Kent, F.S.A. Scot.

The work will take several years to complete, and a detailed report will then be published.

The barrow was found to be of composite structure, built of soil, turf and marl from the limestone outcrop on which it stands, and has a stone revetment for part of its circumference.

Twelve interments have, so far, been discovered, of which three are cremations.

The earliest burials are in two pit graves sunk into the limestone 4 ft. 6 ins. deep. Food vessels have been deposited with two of the other primary interments.

An inverted cinerary urn of the overhanging rim type, 9 ins. below the surface of the mound, contained, besides the calcined bones of a young person, a very perfect unused oval flint knife exhibiting no patination.

A great number of flint flakes were present, both in the body of the mound and in the old turf line, as well as 28 worked implements, parts of several polished Borrowdale Ash Axe-heads, a Bronze age and a leaf-shaped arrow-head.

The mound appears to have occupied part of a settlement site, and amongst the material recovered are 160 decorated shards of early Bronze age pottery, including twelve beaker shards.

A fine-pointed bone pin, 5 ins. long, was lying behind the head of a brachycephalic female skeleton in the central primary grave.

The tumulus has never before been explored and is fairly symmetrical, measuring 6 feet high and 60 feet diameter.

H.J.S.

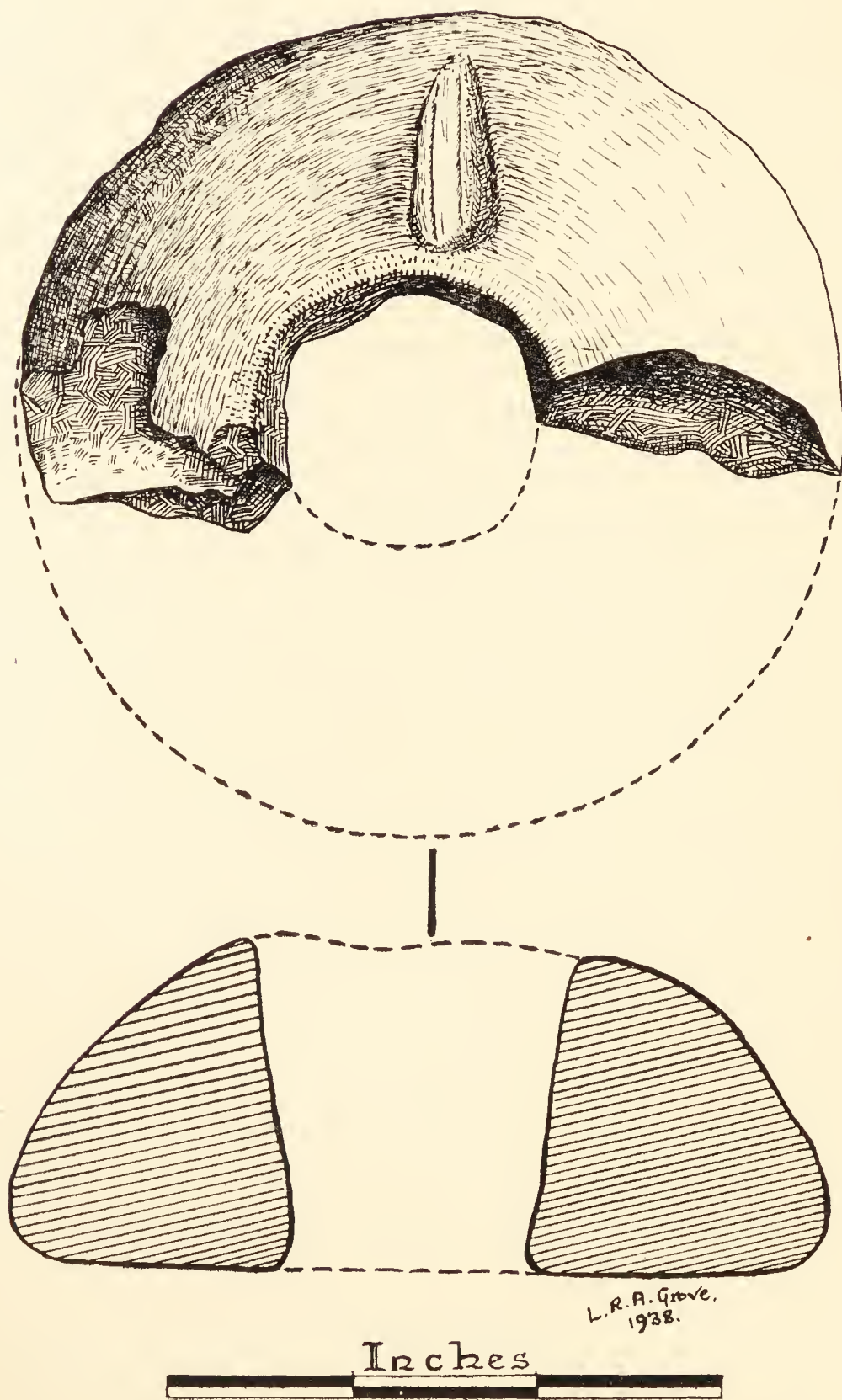
INDULGENCE FROM THE POPE

TO ROBERT AND MARY BENSON OF HALTON ON THE HILL, NEAR SKIPTON IN CRAVEN, YORKSHIRE, FOR CONTRIBUTING MONEY TO CARRY ON THE HOLY WAR, ANNO DOMINI, 1480.

“ Brother John Kendale, Turkey Merchant of Rhodes by the most Holy Father in Christ our Lord Sixtus the ffourth by Divine Providence Pope and by his letters granted for an Expedition made and to be made against the perfidious Turkes enemies of the Christian Name throughout the world, deputed Commissary. To our beloved in Christ Robert and Mary Benson, eternal happiness in the Lord. It hath come to pass from the affection of your Devotion whereby you reverence the Church of Rome and here render yourselves grateful and liberal to the Holy and necessary Expedition that we admit your Petitions especially those which are touching of Conscience and Salvation of your souls to the favour of allowances. Hence it is that we being inclined to your Supplication do grant unto both of you Liberty to choose some fit and discreet Presbyter Secular or Regular of any Order who having diligently heard your Confessions may grant unto both of you plenary Remission and Indulgence (by Apostolical Authority) for the crimes, excesses and offences whatsoever how great and whensoever committed by you and of all your sins for which you shall be contrite in heart and shall confess with your lips in your lifetime or own at the hour of death. The case only of laying hands on a Bishop or a Superior and of offence of Ecclesiastical Liberty or of conspiracy against the person or State of the Bishop of Rome or of any other Disobedience or Rebellion against the same See and killing of a Priest being excepted. Reserving only one but at other times not reserving but as often as it shall be fitt to bestow our absolution he may enjoyne wholesome Penance by the same Authority which wee execute being fortified with sufficient power by Letters of the said Apostolic See. In Testimony whereof wee have bidden and commanded that these our Letters be confirmed by the putting to of our Seal dated the twentieth day of the month of Aprill in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and eighty and in the tenth yeare of the Pontificateship of the afore-said most holy Lord our Lord Pope Sixtus the ffourth.”

The Indulgence was relevant to the offer of Sixtus IV (1471–1484) in 1480 to all who should help the Knights of St. John besieged by the Turks in Rhodes, the last bulwark of eastern Christendom.

A.L.B.



AN ANGLO-SAXON LOOM-WEIGHT FROM YORK CASTLE.

During the crisis at the end of September, 1938, several A.R.P. trenches were made in the grassy circle known as the Eye of the Ridings, York. This circle lies between the base of the mound of Clifford's Tower and the Debtors' Prison. In the earth excavated from the northernmost trench on the north-east side of the Eye the writer found the late Anglo-Saxon clay loom-weight illustrated opposite.

Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, in London Museum Catalogue No. 6, "London and the Saxons," has dealt with the dating of Anglo-Saxon loom-weights. He distinguishes two types. The earlier type, the "annular," is almost rectangular in section and has a central opening which usually occupies over a third of the diameter. It dates to the earlier Anglo-Saxon period.

In the London area a later type—dated to late Anglo-Saxon times, eighth to tenth centuries—has a much smaller opening in comparison to its size, and sometimes has depressions diametrically placed around the opening, "doubtless in order to assist the baking of the thick clay ring." From its shape, oval in section, this type is known as the "bun-shaped."

The present specimen is probably comparable to the latter type of loom-weight, although the opening is uncommonly large, with sloping instead of parallel sides. The presence of the diametrically-placed depression strengthens this conclusion. This shape, with its flattened base, is possibly a northern form, as another example, of similar size and section, from York Castle precincts, is in a display case in Clifford's Tower.

In the same case and from the same spot are two normal "annular" loom-weights and a much smaller "bun-shaped" example with a tiny opening. All these weights are evidence of the fact that, as at Norwich for instance, William the Conqueror laid waste part of an inhabited suburb—Domesday Book says "vastata in castellis"—during 1068 or 1069 in order to make a motte and bailey.

L. R. A. GROVE.

THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST,
MICKLEGATE, YORK.

As no scheme, unfortunately, for the preservation of St. John's has proved practicable, the Archbishop of York has decided that it must be demolished, and the site, whereon it is known there existed a church as early as the close of the twelfth century, is

to be offered to the city authorities as a rest garden. The steeple was blown down in 1551, but was never rebuilt.

It is understood that the Archbishop is handing over to the Dean and Chapter, to be erected in York Minster, the two ancient glass windows, namely the Yorke window, which possesses, amongst other achievements, the arms of the Staple of Calais, of which Sir Richard Yorke was a member, and also a rare representation of the Holy Trinity, with our Father of Pity as the principal motive; and the east window, depicting the life of St. John the Baptist. The remaining stained glass is to be placed in the chapel of the North Riding Mental Hospital, Clifton, York.

The sanctus bell is to be given to the Dean and Chapter; and the six other bells, some of which formerly belonged to the Church of St. Nicholas, Hull Road, York, which was destroyed in 1652 (one of the bells is said to be dated 1408), are to be preserved for the time being in St. Saviour's Church. Here also are to be housed, pending a decision as to their ultimate destination, the memorials from St. John's, including the tomb of the afore-mentioned Sir Richard Yorke, who was Lord Mayor of the city in 1469 and 1482, and who died in 1498.

With regard to the furnishings, the font, organ and choir stalls are to go to St. Hilda's Church, Tang Hall, York: the pulpit to St. Luke's, Burton Lane, York: the altar to the chapel of St. Peter's School, York; and the pews to the Church of St. Barnabas, York. The plate will be deposited in Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York.

R.J.A.B.

HEARTH TAX CERTIFICATE.

25 July 1667. These are to certify whom it may concerne that Will ffordingley of Hunsworth in the p'sh of Birstall liveth in a little house in Hunsworth w^{ch} hath but one Hearth only, nor hath not had any more this thirty years & above & that he doth not pay rent having no land belonging the said little house in his occupācon yet is fully willing to pay for one Hearth: And we whose names are subscribed do maintain that he is not lyable to pay any more

We	{	W. Broadhead, Vic of Birstall.	} Overseers.
believe		Will Sharp	
the contents		John Pearson	
hereof are		Arthur ffrith Churchwarden.	
true.		James Maryenson Twenty-man.	

[Ex MS. Eng. Th., f. iv, Bodleian Library.]

A.L.B.

IRON-AGE SETTLEMENTS IN WEST YORKSHIRE.

By A. RAISTRICK, Ph.D., M.Sc., F.G.S.

The distribution of sites and cultures of the Iron Age and Romano-British period in West Yorkshire has never received much attention, other than occasional recording of casual finds, and the well known brief accounts of the excavation of Victoria and Dowker-bottom caves, during the latter part of last century. The activity that has been directed to cave excavations in the Settle area in recent years, chiefly by members of the Settle Pig Yard Club, and the completion of many years' survey of hutments and village sites in the mid-Pennines, by the author, checked by some excavations of typical sites, make possible a new summary, not only of distribution of the population, but of the prevalent culture and standard of life of the period. This summary will in no way be final, but rather should be regarded as a starting point for extended detailed work on the problems, the solution of which will demand the co-operation of experts in many subjects. The survey of sites has been extended over the Pennines, from the Calder to the Tyne, and westward as far as the Lune, but in this paper the main illustrative material will be drawn from the area of the Aire, Wharfe and Ribble drainages, stretching westward from the west side of the Vale of York as far as, and to include, the Bowland Fells and Ingleborough, while only occasional reference will be made to sites in the rest of the area.

The prehistoric record in the mid-Pennines starts with the Mesolithic "pygmy" flint sites, scattered mainly along the western "edges" of the Pennines, usually at or above 1,000 ft. O.D., and more abundant on the Millstone Grit moors of the south and west, than on the limestone areas. The connections of this culture are with the developed Aurignacian and Tardenoisian of the south, and much evidence points to the flint users being only seasonal visitors, not making habitations within the area (6). The mesolithic is more scattered on the limestone area, but there are at Victoria cave near Settle, and at Calf Hole cave, Skyrethorns, traces of Azilian occupation, in the bone harpoons and bone chisel from the lower cave earths, while "pygmy" flints occur in Sewell's and Jubilee caves.

The Neolithic period is not well represented except by doubtful, rough chipped flints, by polished stone celts, which are mainly

found on the valley sites, and by numerous shards of Neolithic "Peterborough" ware, at Elbolton cave, Wharfedale, and at Sewell's, Little Kelco, Jubilee, and some of the King Scar caves, Settle. In these caves there is considerable evidence of the overlapping and partial telescoping of late Neolithic and Bronze age occupations, the Peterborough ware being found in the same layer as Beaker ware, and the two techniques being merged on a single shard (11). The leaf-shaped arrow point, generally taken as typical neolithic, is found on the limestone uplands, and many examples have been picked up in the areas of Iron age fields to be described later (8). The early Bronze age is represented mainly by stone circles, perforated stone axe-hammers, and by one Beaker burial at Grassington, with Beaker ware fragments in the Settle caves, and at Halton, Wharfedale (4). The bulk of the numerous bronze implements belong to the middle and late Bronze age, and most of the burials on the mid-Pennines are of the cinerary urn type, with food vessels extremely rare. One barrow which may be late Neolithic or early Bronze age, is that at Bradley in Airedale, where a cist with vestiges of entrance passage, etc., is buried under a stone-built long barrow (5). The barbed and tanged flint arrow-heads of Bronze age are very abundant, especially near and upon some of the habitation sites to be described later. The restriction of Bronze age sites mainly to burials, and the distribution of other remains of this period, support the general picture of the Bronze age people as a widely scattered group of nomadic hunters, with the minimum of pastoral, and practically no agricultural ties, binding them to any particular location.

The transition from late Bronze to Iron age was probably marked by the development of isolated hutments, in which very occasional fragments of late Bronze age pottery are found, along with wares and articles more definitely Iron age in character. It seems likely, though not yet demonstrated in excavation, that the barbed flint arrow-point remained in use well into the Iron age in this area, and that actually the mid Iron age culture (? La Tene II; *cf.* Flasby swords, etc.) was grafted onto the remnant of the late Bronze age nomadic stock. Many of the typical products of the culture to be described are typical of the late Bronze age sites of the South of England, though speaking chronologically they occur during the Iron age of the northern counties. The outstanding features of the Iron age of West Yorkshire, which persisted into the Roman occupation period, are settlements, both isolated hutments and village groupings, associated with cultivation areas; evidences

of grain culture and textile crafts; and the practice of multiple burials in tumuli of large diameter and peculiar structure. The Roman occupation of the North had very little impact on this culture, except by the addition to it of some of the commoner Roman pots, and small personal ornaments. A few Roman coins occur in the sites to be described, but they are generally very rare.

THE IRON AGE SITES.

The sites can best be described under a series of types, as follows:

- (a) Isolated hutments and fields.
- (b) Village sites.
- (c) Caves.
- (d) Forts and earthworks.
- (e) Burials.

(a) On the limestone uplands of Craven, and to a less extent throughout the Dales, the most abundant indication of Iron age occupation is the occurrence, in large numbers, of small enclosures among the lower limestone scarps (over 500 sites have been examined). These sites are generally defined by characteristic "balks" or banks, made of large boulders, gravel and turf, or occasionally built with large stones set on edge. The usual situation is a grassy, cleared hollow, between small upstanding limestone outcrops, the ones to the north and east sufficiently large to afford shelter from the wind. An area of a few dozen square yards is enclosed by a bank, with a heavy boulder core, usually a few feet wide and one or two feet high. In some cases, as the "Haggs" on Wedber Brow, Malham, and at sites in Wharfedale, the low banks are set with large up-ended boulders or with stones set on edge, the spaces being well packed with smaller stones or turf and gravel. The space enclosed is usually oval or roughly rectangular, the limestone scar forming one of the long sides. In the corner, between one of the short sides and the scar, is the usual position for a "hut circle," in most cases built outside the main enclosure. The hut circle is generally a more substantial bank, circular, and enclosing an area from 8 to 16 feet diameter. It seems probable that the low bank was set with posts supporting a wicker or thatched roof, or a "wigwam" of intertwined boughs; there is very rarely a well-defined entry to the hut circle, which suggests that such doorway as there was was made in the superstructure only. Occasionally a small mound or "midden" can be identified near the hut circle, and from these mounds fragments of pottery and bones

of domestic and food animals have been obtained. A charcoal hearth is often found, either against one of the inner walls of the hut or just outside on any convenient small platform or raised ground.

Near the huts it is common to find, in addition to a large enclosure or "croft," a few balks of less substantial build, running across the areas of turf between one limestone outcrop and the next, fencing off, though very slightly, a small field up to half an acre or so in extent. It is clear from the uniformity of general arrangement, in spite of the great diversity in detail dictated by the local peculiarities of the rock outcrops, that the usual settlement of this type consists of a hut or occasionally two huts, a small croft adjoining, with well-built bank, possibly supporting a "stockade" fence, and one or two small fields. The croft would supply a secure shelter for sheep and cattle, and the field would give a restricted pasturage with sufficient fence to prevent the animals wandering, on occasions when it was desirable to keep them close at hand.

In addition to the hut circle and croft, there are, over the whole of Craven, a smaller number (about 80) of isolated hut circles of earlier type, probably late Bronze age. These approximate closer to the "pit-dwelling." The hut site is excavated to a depth of about three feet below ground level, and is circular—about fifteen feet internal diameter. The hollow is walled round with heavy masonry walling, of uncut boulders carefully placed, in a wall two to three feet thick, rising usually about five feet above the inside floor level. This gives an outside berm or circle, a foot or two above ground level. An entrance, usually on the south-east or east side, is a constant feature of these huts. The entrance is a sloping trench starting at ground level, usually a few feet in advance of the hut wall, and dropping with regular slope to the inside floor level. The sides of the entrance are often set with very large boulders or slabs set on edge. A flattish roof of interlacing tree boughs, with a turf thatch, would give six or seven feet of head-room over most of the hut area. In some cases the walling is more slender, made of packed boulders, gravel and turf, but the form and size is very constant. The position is usually chosen just below and a little in advance of fairly high limestone scars, and generally at a lower level along the valley sides than the hut and croft settlements. The presence of hearth inside and against the wall, and midden outside, is a much more constant feature than in the hut and croft type, while crofts and fields are very rare

indeed. The best and most numerous examples of this type are found in Grass Wood, Grassington, and along the scars of the higher reaches of Wharfedale, and around Feizor and Crummockdale between Ingleborough and Settle. A few examples have been seen in Wensleydale and Swaledale, and a few on Rumbalds Moor and near Hope Hill, Airedale, where great care is necessary not to confuse them, when overgrown, with old bell pit coal and ironstone workings.

The hut and croft type is mainly found on the limestone plateaus, but a few examples occur on the grit areas of lower Wharfedale and Airedale, and in the district between Nidderdale and lower Wensleydale.

The village sites can conveniently be divided into three groups. The largest type with grouped village, wide extent of fields, field roads, etc., has been described in detail recently (8), from Grassington, Wharfedale. In that example a village of approximately two acres of huts and small rectangular crofts is associated with a set of fields nearly 80 acres in extent, connected by roads with the village and with other settlements. The fields are of two types, (a) square with slight stone and turf banking, about 300 feet by 500 feet, mostly made on nearly level ground and often enclosing smaller circular or oval "crofts" 50 to 100 feet diameter; (b) a more numerous set of fairly regular fields 70 to 80 feet wide and 350 to 400 feet long, with massive banks up to three feet high and six or seven feet wide. The group (b) agrees very closely with the "Celtic" fields of other areas of the late Iron age and Romano-British period. The village, a large collection of rectangular crofts with hut circles built as a continuous whole, is closely paralleled at Borrans, Linton; above Coniston and on Langscar, Kettlewell, and on Kilnsey Moor, all in Wharfedale; in Pennygent Gill; near Halton Gill, in the Skirfare valley; near Pikedaw, at Lambscar, and in upper Goredale, near Malham; above Stainforth, and near Whinskill, in Ribblesdale; and at the head of Crummockdale, on the flank of Ingleborough. Similar villages, but of less extent, are seen at several places in Wensleydale and Swaledale, perhaps best developed on Preston Scar, between Wensley and Bolton, and near Carperby. Other sites are found between the Ribble and Lune at Castlefield, Leck; Home Riggs, Barbon; and near Middleton, with isolated huts and crofts in Dentdale.

The second type of village is smaller and entirely stone built, only rarely associated directly with fields. An example has been described as "site A" in the Grassington paper (8), and other

examples are seen at Arncliffe (Blue Scar), a plan of which has been published (9); at Deepdale, upper Wharfedale; at Hukermire in Wensleydale; near Richmond in Swaledale; and on a smaller scale at Kex Gill and a few other sites in mid-Wharfedale. The type is not well represented in the Malham or Settle-Ingleborough district, though a type somewhat intermediate is found near Southerscales, Ingleborough.

In this type of village a number of huts, from about half a dozen to twenty, are grouped close together, many of the walls being common to two or three huts. The walls are built of rough unsquared masonry, but with considerable use of slabby limestone or sandstone flags, both in the walls and as copings, portions of a corbelled roof occasionally being preserved (as at Deepdale and Richmond). Many features are reminiscent of the North Scottish and Orkney villages, such as Skara Brae, particularly the frequency of small passage spaces between the huts, and the occasional "wall cupboards" and other spaces cilled and linteled with large flagstones. Many of the spaces between the abutting huts are filled with rubble and boulders, and the whole group is often contained within a continuous enclosing wall which may be part of many of the hut structures. The examples at Richmond were partially examined by J. Raine of Richmond, and sketchily described by H. Speight about forty years ago. Their description of part of the hutments is still substantially correct, though some slight change has been made by the accumulation of forty years of vegetation and debris. Recent examination confirms all points of their description and extends it to most of the site. The outstanding feature of the whole site is the constancy of passages within the more massive walls, a structural detail repeated in Wensleydale sites. "A curious feature in connection with these archaic enclosures (Speight, *Romantic Richmondshire*, 1897) is the fact that a gallery or passage with several apartments has been constructed in the thickness of the walls. One of these remains tolerably perfect and is at the eastern end of the moated enclosure where the wall is 13 feet thick. It is entered from the outside like an Esquimau dwelling by creeping along a short, low passage three feet wide, the jambs and lintel of which are still *in situ*. The apartment entered is of the usual horse-shoe pattern, but wider than it is long, being 8 feet 2 inches one way and 6 feet 10 inches the other. The present depth is 6 feet, but the floor is filled with stones and rubbish, detracting somewhat from the original height. Inside on the left of the passage upon entering is a sitting recess, 30 inches wide, or it may have been

used as a pantry or open cupboard for the placing of vessels or cooked meats. A careful examination of the walls disclosed a fine rubbing or grinding stone At the south-eastern angle of this apartment is a rude staircase of two steps connecting a small upper apartment, probably a sleeping-room. It is approached by a low passage 12 inches wide, the roof or lintel of which remains." Many of the " typical horse-shoe " apartments are formed by the curved spaces between adjacent hutments, roofed over in the way described.

The hutments on Hukermire Moss, near Addleborough, Wensleydale, and near Oxclose, Carperby, show many similar features, the lavish use of flagstone, the narrow passages, and wall cupboards. At Richmond and Hukermire, fragments of coarse late Iron age or Romano-British pottery were found, along with roughly chipped flints, rubbing stones, and numerous animal bones, some of them cut to form crude tools, all of which agree with the remains from hutments of other types all over the area. Both Richmond and Deepdale villages are partially defended or defined by a ditch and low rampart, but no corresponding feature is found at the other sites. At Deepdale coarse gritted pottery is associated with rough unfigured Samian, and trellis patterned blackish-grey cook pot ware of late first or early second century Roman types, confirming the general dating of these sites. Some of the articles from the village " site A " at Grassington have been described and figured in the *Y.A.J.* (8, 9). Though large enclosures are present in the vicinity of the stone villages, it is not clear in any case that they are part of the same structural plan, but they were certainly used by the people of the village, part of the time of their occupation.

At Kex Gill, near Blubberhouses, the village is largely made up of single hut circles, with a few larger enclosures among them, but the whole site has been complicated by the presence of monastic and later iron-smelting bloomeries built among the ruins of some of the huts, utilising much of the larger stone from adjacent hutments. The original plan of the whole village, however, can still be determined, and several of the huts are complete. Again, the outstanding features of the village are the use of stone flags, the absence of turf and gravel banking, and the outside wall, enclosing the whole site.

(c) The Iron age cave sites lie mainly in the Settle district, with outlying examples near Skyrethorns and Kilnsey in Wharfedale, and near Leyburn in Wensleydale. In all cases the cave is adjacent to a group of small crofts and fields, with or without hutments, and it has been made clear by recent excavations that at or near the

mouth of the caves there is generally a sheltered platform with abundant charcoal hearth sites on which much of the pottery is found. This occupation platform, and sometimes the midden, is often clearly part of the croft and field system, and the caves must be considered along with the adjacent enclosures and not as isolated inhabited sites divorced from land. The largest group of caves is in King Scar, north-east of Settle, where from west to east the principal sites are Jubilee cave (excavated by T. Lord and T. L. Frankland and the Pig Yard Club, 1935-38), Albert cave, Victoria cave (excavated in 1870 and later years by a committee of the British Association), Attermire cave (partially excavated at the same time as Victoria, when the Romano-British layer of most of the caves in the area was interfered with, and later by members of the Pig Yard Club and Settle Naturalist and Antiquarian Society, 1921-26). Further to the west, in Common Scar, three miles north-west of Settle, lies Sewell's cave, discovered in 1932 and excavated by the Pig Yard Club 1932-35 (11), with several caves between it and Settle, in the Giggleswick Scars, of which Kinsey (excavated by —. Mattinson and J. W. Jackson), Kelco, and Little Kelco (excavated by the Settle Naturalist and Antiquarian Society), are the most important. Sewell's cave most nearly resembles the usual rock shelter, a large, shallow recess in the scar front, about 40 feet long, 13 feet deep, and 10 feet high at the front, with a wide rough terrace before it on which some of the occupational evidence was found. In the case of Victoria cave there is nearly the same feature on a grander scale, the main chamber affording a most imposing arched shelter, though only a few feet high before the pre-Iron age cave earths were removed. In front of the cave entrance was a terrace or platform, vastly altered by the excavations and now replaced by an artificially terraced tip of excavated material. The Albert cave is similar in many respects. In the case of Jubilee and Attermire the outer platform is less well marked and the cave itself is a series of ramifying passages, narrow and often of great height, only occasionally opening out into a chamber large enough for occupation. In all cases charcoal is abundant inside as well as outside the cave mouth. At Calf Hole cave, Skyrethorns, the cave approximates closest to the true rock shelter. The cave mouth is an impressive rock arch, approximately fifteen feet deep, with a passage leading off at the north corner for a short distance, but very narrow and tortuous. The great arch of the front is divided by a natural pillar into two bays. The cave is at the back of a natural rock shelf, about twenty feet up a small limestone knoll. Below the cave

mouth, at the foot of the scar, is a small cluster of fields or crofts with unusually strong banks, set with large boulders, and on the knoll are many larger fields and a few isolated hutments. The occupation debris was mainly on the broad shelf in front of the cave mouth, where charcoal, crude pottery, etc., were obtained.

The caves are all partially filled with earlier cave earths, with bones of animals of the glacial and post-glacial faunas—woolly rhinoceros, mammoth, reindeer, arctic hare and fox, hyæna, etc., with abundant remains of brown bear, wolf, fox, lynx, etc., in the later deposits. In the case of Victoria an earlier fauna of rhinoceros (*leptorhinus*), elephant (*antiquus*), cave lion, hyæna (*crocota*), etc., is present. In Victoria and Calf Hole the first human relics belong to the Azilian (epi-palæolithic) period; at Victoria there are two bone harpoons—one, a barbed one, has been frequently figured, while the other, a fine lance point with incised zig-zag decoration, has not yet been described; at Calf Hole the Azilian tool is a chisel of boar's tusk set in a haft of antler of red deer. In Jubilee cave, at the lowest level of the entrance chamber, a small group of Tardenoisian "pygmy" flints was found. In Kelco cave a few flints and a polished stone axe are evidence either of Neolithic use of the cave or of an unduly late survival of a Neolithic implement in use into later times: the stratigraphy of the cave was not clear enough to decide this point, the stone celt being brought out by the earlier excavators along with Iron age material, without separate record of its position. In Sewell's cave, Little Kelco cave, Victoria cave, and Elbolton cave, many fragments of Peterborough ware (Neolithic) are associated with sherds of Bronze age pottery, in the basal stratum of the main occupation layer, suggesting that these caves had been used at intervals over a long period prior to the Romano-British inhabitants.

The Romano-British is in all cases the uppermost occupation layer, and thus unfortunately has suffered most disturbance by rabbits and badgers, and in the period during and following the early explorations of Victoria cave, by bands of relic hunters and amateur cave workers. The careful excavation in recent years of a few previously undisturbed caves has given sufficient sound evidence to correct many of the difficulties promoted by this earlier disturbance of the older known caves.

The deposit is usually a thinnish layer of sticky cave earth, with sand and blocks of roof material, in which is found great quantities of animal bones, mainly sheep, oxen, and deer, with less quantities of dog, wolf, horse, fox, etc., and a very heterogeneous

mixture of fragmentary articles of bone, iron and stone. Much of the iron is very much oxidized, but only rarely to such an extent as to obscure the nature of the original article. In Sewell's, Jubilee, and Dowkerbottom caves the upper layer has been disturbed to some extent by the custom of cave burial, in which the digging of shallow graves during the Romano-British period has mixed debris from the underlying cave earths with the contemporary material around the inhumations.

In addition to the occupied caves mentioned there are traces of Iron age visitants and abundant evidence of the associated fauna in a great number of smaller caves and crannies among the limestone scars over most of Craven, and also in Wensleydale and Swaledale. At Leyburn Shawl a small cave yielded numerous bones of red deer, fox, goat, ox, sheep, etc., along with human remains. A charcoal hearth was found, from and near which were obtained fragments of Samian ware, coarser pottery, grain rubbers, pot boilers, split and worked bones, etc. In the woods below the Shawl there are several hutments which have yielded the same typical suite of grain rubbers, pot boilers, coarse pottery and worked bone.

In all cases there is abundant evidence from the distribution of the finds (to be detailed later) that the caves were an adjunct to a normal hutment and fields site, and that they were used mainly as a retreat or shelter in bad weather, and possibly as the location of iron working and bone working crafts. Most of the tools and articles of iron and bone are found in the caves, and a large proportion of partially made and of broken material suggests a workshop site.

(d) In West Yorkshire there are only three sites that might be classed as hill-forts, apart from a number of small and indeterminate ditched sites and earthworks, on stream promontories, none of which have provided datable relics.

Ingleborough dominates all the central and western part of Craven, with its flat summit plateau at just over 2,350 feet above sea level. The summit is a nearly level platform, approximately triangular, 1,300 feet east to west on the north side, and 900 feet from north to the apex of the triangle on the south side. The whole circumference of this plateau is defended by a massive wall, many parts of which are faced and strengthened by large standing stones and massive lintels and throughs of flagstone. There are many traces of chambers within and adjoining the wall structure, but much damage has been done to the wall at various times in building

from it the beacon and cairns. Within the wall the area contains many fine hut circles of stone—all, however, levelled with the ground, largely on the occasion of the building of the beacon and tower during the Victorian period. There are traces of a graded ascent and approach on the eastern side, but this cannot with any certainty be linked with the early occupation of the summit. A better defined approach, with traces of flanking outworks and main entrance, is on the west side; but again this has been modified by long usage and by heavy carting of material for bonfires and beacons on many occasions of public rejoicings. It is much to be regretted that these occasions have nearly always been made opportunities to interfere ruthlessly with the structural remains on the summit. The most regrettable of all must be the clearing of the hut circles to allow “freak” horse-races on the summit over a century ago. An excellent early plan of the area was published by Phillips (*Rivers, Mountains, and Seacoast of Yorkshire*), and in view of his extraordinary precision and care in his geological survey work of the area, and his general accuracy, it is allowable to accept this plan as reliable.

Below, and on a shoulder of the main plateau of Ingleborough massif, is the ditched and banked earthwork of Yarl'sberg, which has been assumed of a similar age, though no remains have been found in it to prove this assumption.

Near the Grassington villages and fields there is the stone fort on Far Gregory. Far Gregory is a nearly isolated limestone knoll, rising fairly abruptly in a series of limestone scars, 350 feet above the river on the west and separated from the main plateau of the Lea Green settlements by a scarped depression of about 100 feet. The summit of Far Gregory commands a magnificent view up and down Wharfedale and across the Threshfield and Bordley moors to the west for many miles. No more commanding position is to be found anywhere in Wharfedale. The summit of the knoll is occupied by extensive walling of large boulders, with a large oval enclosure nearly 100 feet long, cross-divided by a slighter walling, and with massive curved walls extending south from the two ends of it, curving slightly inwards to the south. Against these walls are smaller enclosures, that have been described as “guard chambers,” near the entrance. The edge of the scarp is emphasised and strengthened by the clearing of scree material and by rough walling of large boulders along the edge. Gullies and gaps in the scarp have been packed with rocks. Outside the “fort” the summit forms a walled enclosure about 500 feet by 200 feet, which would

accommodate a fairly large contingent of cattle and other stock. Water is found only at some distance, and it seems very unlikely that the site was ever meant to withstand serious attack. Its main function must have been that of a look-out post and temporary retreat. Partial excavation of the fort has revealed the careful structure of the walls, but no remains were obtained beyond a few small fragments of coarse pottery.

Addleborough in Wensleydale (south-east of Bainbridge) can only doubtfully be regarded as a hill-top site. The position is magnificent, the hill standing several hundred feet above the surrounding country, with a large level scarped top at 1,560 feet O.D. It is in close association with the many hutments, fields and villages on Hukermire, and on the summit there are traces of earthworks, though these have been variously claimed as a "native" camp and as a summer outpost from the Roman fort at Bainbridge. At the north-west corner a sunken approach seems to be defended by outworks and hutments. No excavation has been carried out on this site, and its date and nature remain unproved.

Many small earthworks have been tentatively credited to the Iron age occupation, and there is no evidence to the contrary. Many of them are described and planned in the *Victoria County History* schedule of earthworks—*e.g.* Castlesteads, Cullingworth; Addingham Moor earthworks; Nessfield near Ilkley (promontory fort); Catstones Ring, Harden; Park Hill, Airton; Maiden Castle, Grinton; with others at East Witton, Coniston Cold, etc., etc. In addition to these there are several smaller earthworks in the Craven lowlands, particularly between Gargrave and Settle—mostly a simple ditch and slight rampart around the summit of some of the drumlin mounds. Again, none of these are precisely datable by remains, but by analogy may be placed within the Iron age and later periods.

(e) The burials that can be referred to the period under discussion are fairly numerous and somewhat varied in type. Associated with the villages at Grassington, Kex Gill, Leyburn Shawl and Malham, there are tumuli containing multiple burials, while isolated burials are fairly common over a wide area. Other types of burial are inhumation in the caves, and burial among the limestone clints under a loose piled heap of boulders.

The burial mounds near Grassington have been carefully excavated at different periods, and can be taken as fairly typical. In 1893 a large barrow on Capstick Back Pasture, just north of a large group of hutments and enclosures, was excavated by Speight,

Davies, and others. The mound was 62 feet diameter and from 1 to 3 feet high, circular, built of boulders, gravel and earth. At the centre was a rectangular grave, 7 feet by 3 feet, with a skeleton buried 4 feet below the mound surface. The skeleton was laid on its left side, the legs doubled up to the chin and head to the east. An iron knife, hafted in deer horn, along with a piece of worked bone, were with the skeleton. Twelve feet south from the centre was a second grave, 5 feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, in which fragments of bone were all that remained of a skeleton, and the only artifact was a double perforated flat jet button. Eight feet south from the centre a bone pin and the handle of a knife were found among the gravel filling. Fifteen feet east from the centre a burial was covered by a rough limestone slab. Other partial skeletons were buried at 12 feet south-east from the centre, and 12 feet north-north-west from the centre. Among the gravel filling of the mound were found a bronze ring, 1 inch diameter, and abundant bones of ox, sheep, goat, stag, wild boar, fox, dog, and rat. The main structural features of the barrow were the provision of roughly built grave hollows marked by large boulder walling and often with rough slab covering, reminiscent of Bronze age cist burials, and an encircling boulder wall, 3 feet wide and 2 feet high, just within the circumference of the mound.

A large tumulus at the north end of Lea Green had two circular walls within it, the outer one 40 feet diameter and the inner one eccentric to it and 16 feet diameter. A grave pit was found at the centre of the inner circle, with limestone slab cover, and a skeleton on the right side, legs doubled up and the hands bent up to the head, with head due west. A bone awl was found with this body. Other burials were found at 5 feet south-east from the centre, with a bronze ring, and burials at 8 feet east and 14 feet north of the centre. Animal bones were abundant, but as in all other cases there was no trace of pottery.

The largest barrow of this group was on Lea Green, south of the last described, slightly oval, 76 feet east to west and 66 feet north to south. This contained seven burials, at various parts of the mound, and associated with them were four iron knives, a bronze pin, bronze razor, and a bone pin. There was again no trace of pottery or evidence of any cremation rites.

At Kex Gill, Blubberhouses, a large tumulus occupies a prominent position at one end of the village and is again a flattish mound of large diameter, built entirely of stone. The mound contains a great number of roughly formed chambers, several containing

skeletons or fragmentary human bones, with numerous animal bones scattered among the mound filling. The great cairn, called locally Great Raise, on Hukermire, was of similar construction, with several grave hollows in it, and remains of more than one burial.

In some of the smaller mounds, as at Leyburn Shawl, at Pikedaw near Malham, and near Bell Busk, a single skeleton has been buried along with iron spear-head, or in other cases a single skeleton is accompanied by an iron knife or other fragment of iron-work. A number of burials of skeletons or partial skeletons in a stone and gravel mound of large diameter, but with no accompanying artifacts, probably belong to the same period.

Several of the caves in the Settle district contain multiple burials of Iron age occupants. In Sewell's cave the remains of six individuals were found buried in the floor, to the great disturbance of the older cave floors. In Jubilee the custom of cave burial is still more prominent, more than ten individuals being obtained in excavations not yet completed. In this cave most of the skeletons are carefully tucked away along the sides of the passages, generally under an overhanging ledge, or thrust down into some deeper fissure in the side passages. In no instance is there anything resembling a made grave, though in most cases artifacts are either with or very near to the skeleton. Cave burials were also found in Dowkerbottom cave near Kilnsey, and in Cove Hole cave near Grassington.

On the limestone plateau west of Settle T. Lord and T. L. Frankland have recently discovered a new type of burial, in which the skeleton is placed in an enlarged joint among the limestone "clints" and the joint is then covered by irregular slabs of limestone, either placed in a rough mound and gravel covered, or built as in a rough wall or elongated bank, the long stones placed across the joint as a roof. A few of this type of burial have been discovered, but it would be premature to give a fuller description here, based on the detailed examination of only two of them.

The majority of the skeletal remains from the various burials agree in indicating a race with long skull, thick frontal bones, with rather low forehead, and in many examples with strongly marked superciliary ridges. These characters are in general agreement with other authenticated remains of the Celtic pre-Roman Britons of the north of England.

The remains provided by recent excavations of occupation sites and caves are now sufficiently numerous to allow a fairly comprehensive view of the Iron age cultures of the area.

FLINTS.

Over all the areas examined during this survey, flints are more or less common and regular in their occurrence. In all the excavations some have been found, and many hundreds have been picked up on the crofts, fields, and hutments. The general assemblage includes implements of many types. A few microlithic points and "harpoon barbs" occurred in Jubilee and other caves, from the earliest occupation level, and the microliths from the open sites can fairly safely be dated to the earlier occupants of the area. Leaf-shaped arrow-points of Neolithic type are not uncommon on many of the sites, but the commonest true forms regularly met with are the barbed arrow-point and all its many variations. The barbed arrow-point of typically Bronze age form seems to have remained in use until many of the hutments were well established. (For figures of these and other flints from the hutments, etc., see 8.) The knife blades of flattened triangular section are found both in the caves and hutments that have been excavated, and scattered among the crofts and fields, and with slight variations of form may have survived from Neolithic to latest Romano-British times. The larger flints are mainly scrapers, often beautifully made and shaped, but frequently of very large size and irregular outline. It is not possible to make any useful classification of these, as almost any large flake seems to be utilised for this purpose. The small circular "thumb scrapers" form only a very small proportion of those found in the enclosures. A great part of the flints from all sites is made up of irregular pieces modified by chipping, almost entirely limited to the edges, into a usable object. The abundance of scrapers, knives and saws suggests that their chief use was in dressing and cutting skins, and probably in shaping the bone articles that are so abundant.

The rest of the objects are best described under groups based on their use.

AGRICULTURE.

The cultivation of grain of some kind (from evidence in other areas probably barley—see Curwen, *Prehist. Soc.*, Vol. IV, 1938) is clearly evidenced by the regularity of the fields and by the constant presence among the remains from most of the sites of articles definitely connected with the use of grain.

Sickles: a complete iron sickle was found in the Grassington enclosures (Fig. IV, 6). Portions of similar sickles have been found at Settle. This is of a type definitely later than the early Iron age sickles of the south, and may be late Iron age or Romano-British.

Plough and Hoe: a few heavily oxidized iron points are probably the shoes of foot ploughs or hoes. The point is an elongated triangle about 6 or 8 inches long, and 2 inches wide at the broad end, with flanges at that end making a crude socket. These are similar in all respects to "plough-shares" figured from the Iron age camp of the Caburn, Lewes, and other southern sites. The plough resembled the "cash crom" still used in parts of the Hebrides.

QUERNS.

A common feature of almost all sites is the presence of "grain rubbers." These are pebbles of fine grit, usually about 6 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick, of oval section, with round ends. The two flatter sides are usually smooth and polished, with striations at right angles to the length. In several cases, along with these, portions of a large flat or slightly hollow bottom stone slab are present, the two forming a rough "saddle quern" on which grain was ground, the top stone being held by both hands and pushed back and forth over the bottom stone in a straight line from the grinder. Other rubbers, which are common on many of the smaller sites as well as on all the villages, are more circular, smaller, with large flattened faces on which the striations are in all directions. These were used in one hand, while grain was fed onto the bottom stone with the other hand, and the motion was irregular or circular. Other stones which are elongated like the first are obvious pestles, battered and rubbed at the broad end, having been used in a stone probably naturally hollowed, as a pestle for crushing or husking grain. These again have been found on all the larger sites and most of the smaller sites with fields.

The rubbing stones used with a circular motion are typical of many Neolithic sites in the south of England (see E. C. Curwen on "Querns," *Antiquity*, June, 1937, pp. 133-151, and in Elbolton and Scwell's caves they are associated with Peterborough ware. Their use persisted, however, throughout the Iron age in the north, on most of the sites, where they may be associated with the coarser Roman pottery of the early second century A.D. The bolster-shaped rubber and bottom stone are the true "saddle quern" of late Bronze age type, and again its persistence is clear from its association with all types of pottery up to the second century Roman.

Beehive querns have a top stone of beehive shape, about 12 to 14 inches diameter and the same height, which revolves on a bottom stone which is either flat based (cheese-shaped) or, as is common in

this area, is a very rough conical or irregular shape, which was presumably fixed in the ground. The two stones have a flat grinding surface and a central hole in which a wood peg would be fixed in the bottom stone, and running loose in the top stone. The top stone may have a central "hopper" perforation or not, and has a hole at one side in which a handle can be set for turning. Curwen says (*loc. cit.*, p. 142)—

"A third class, apparently derived from the Wessex type, possesses a similar thick and heavy upper stone, cheese-shaped, beehive or conical, but is distinguished by the fact that the grinding surfaces are practically flat (slope not exceeding three degrees). Both this and the Wessex type were found at Ham Hill, Somerset, but the largest number of them occurred at the Iron Age AB hill-fort of Hunsbury, near Northampton. This class, which we may call the Hunsbury type, is important because it appears to have been a product of the northward spread of the Iron Age B culture, and to have been ancestral to what we have ventured to call the Roman legionary type of quern."

This type is common on some of the larger sites, five being got at Grassington, Lea Green, two of them with the funnel-shaped hopper in the upper stone. Along with these, portions of Curwen's early Romano-British type (*loc. cit.*, p. 144) were present on the village site A, at Grassington. Querns of the plain beehive type were common on the Iron age field groups of Hope Hill, Baildon, and at sites on Rumbalds Moor. Similar querns were found at Malham, at several sites near Settle, and near Leyburn, Wensleydale. Many other examples are preserved in the museums and private collections of West Yorkshire, but they are mostly only located from "old enclosures" or from a still wider locality, and cannot be allocated to a particular site.

GRAIN PITS.

At a site in Pennygent Gill, upper Skirfare valley (excavated in 1937 by Mr. Bennett), in the course of a detailed survey by Mr. Bennett and the author, a structure was discovered and excavated that has a few parallels in other areas (Deepdale and Wensleydale). Among the limestone pavements adjacent to a small series of fields and hut circles there was a circular patch of large flaggy stones, showing very careful arrangement. On excavation the site proved to be a pit, 4 feet diameter, and almost circular, 2 feet 6 inches deep at the sides, and taken down through the loose and weathered

rock onto a sound and continuous rock floor. The sides of the pit were made with large flaggy limestone slabs set on edge against a clay backing, and the interstices well packed with smaller stones and rubble. The edge of the pit was reinforced in part by a second row of flags and by other flags set horizontally as binders. The chamber was roofed with much larger stones set as corbels, into a beehive cover, and still intact, though collapsed in the middle and now lying as a conical depression. It was clear that this had been a well constructed storage pit, and it was interesting to note the entire absence of rabbit and mole remains from it, while in all the other less carefully built sites in the area they were particularly abundant. The pit was connected by banking and edge stones with part of the hutments and crofts, and a similar arrangement

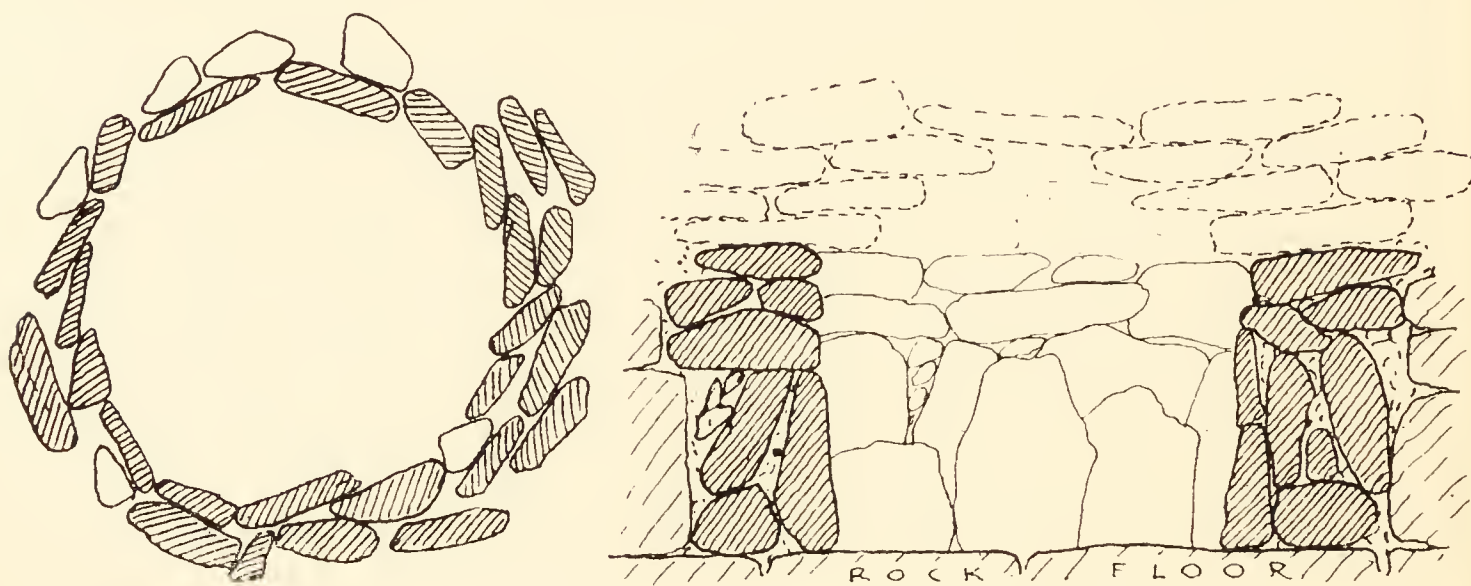


FIG. I. Horizontal and vertical section of grain pit. Roof restored from slabs fallen into pit.

was noted in two other examples. The sections will show the structure as revealed in the excavation, with the roofing slabs restored to their probable original position (Fig. I). Similar, though more ruinous pits have been examined on other sites.

Connected with the agriculture was a considerable pastoral development, in which domesticated animals played a great part. On all sites, both around the hearth and in the middens, the remains of a typical group of animals are always abundant. First among them come sheep and ox, with goat and pig a second group almost as important. Cockspurs have frequently been found in the caves and huts, and with other bones indicate some use of poultry, ancestral to our present stock. The rest of the animals were almost certainly provided by hunting, the main group being deer (including red deer), wolf, and otter. The deer skins were utilised along with those of sheep and cattle, and the numerous scrapers, knives, and

some of the coarser needles would be used in their preparation. Connected with all the edged tools are numerous whetstones, both elongated circular section pebbles, rather like a modern scythe whetstone, and the much more regular carefully selected and shaped rectangular stones, of the finest grits or quartzites. These stones are most abundant in the caves, again suggesting the caves as chiefly the resort of craftsmen.

TEXTILES.

The use of wool for cloth is proved by the constant presence of textile implements both on the villages and in all the caves. It is possible that vegetable fibre, such as nettle, and animal sinews were also used for binding and sewing, but no proof of this can be obtained.

WEAVING COMBS (Fig. II, 1 & 2).

These long-handled bone combs were present in Victoria and Dowkerbottom caves, and in Attermire cave, and are exactly paralleled at Harborough cave, Derbyshire, and at the Roman station of Newstead, Scotland. They are of common occurrence in the Brochs of Scotland, and were also found at Glastonbury and Hunsbury, Northants, where they are in a pre-Roman Iron age culture. Their occurrence at Hunsbury and in West Yorkshire agrees with the common occurrence of the beehive quern already noted, and supports their allocation to the Iron age. It may be significant that all the examples we have are from caves, none being found on the open sites, although other bone articles are preserved on them.

LOOM WEIGHTS.

A few loom weights of common type have been found, usually more or less conical limestone fragments, perforated near the apex. A few weights of coarse pottery and of sandstone have been found, but these are not the commonest type. The loom weights were recorded in Dowkerbottom, Sewell's, Jubilee, and Kelco caves, and in the village site A at Grassington, and on the Hope Hill sites. Examples were got near the hutments in Wensleydale (Leyburn) and on one of the Malham sites.

SPINDLE WHORLS.

These evidences of spinning are most numerous and most varied, but can be reduced to three groups, based on the material used—lead, stone, and pottery. The lead spindle whorls fall into two

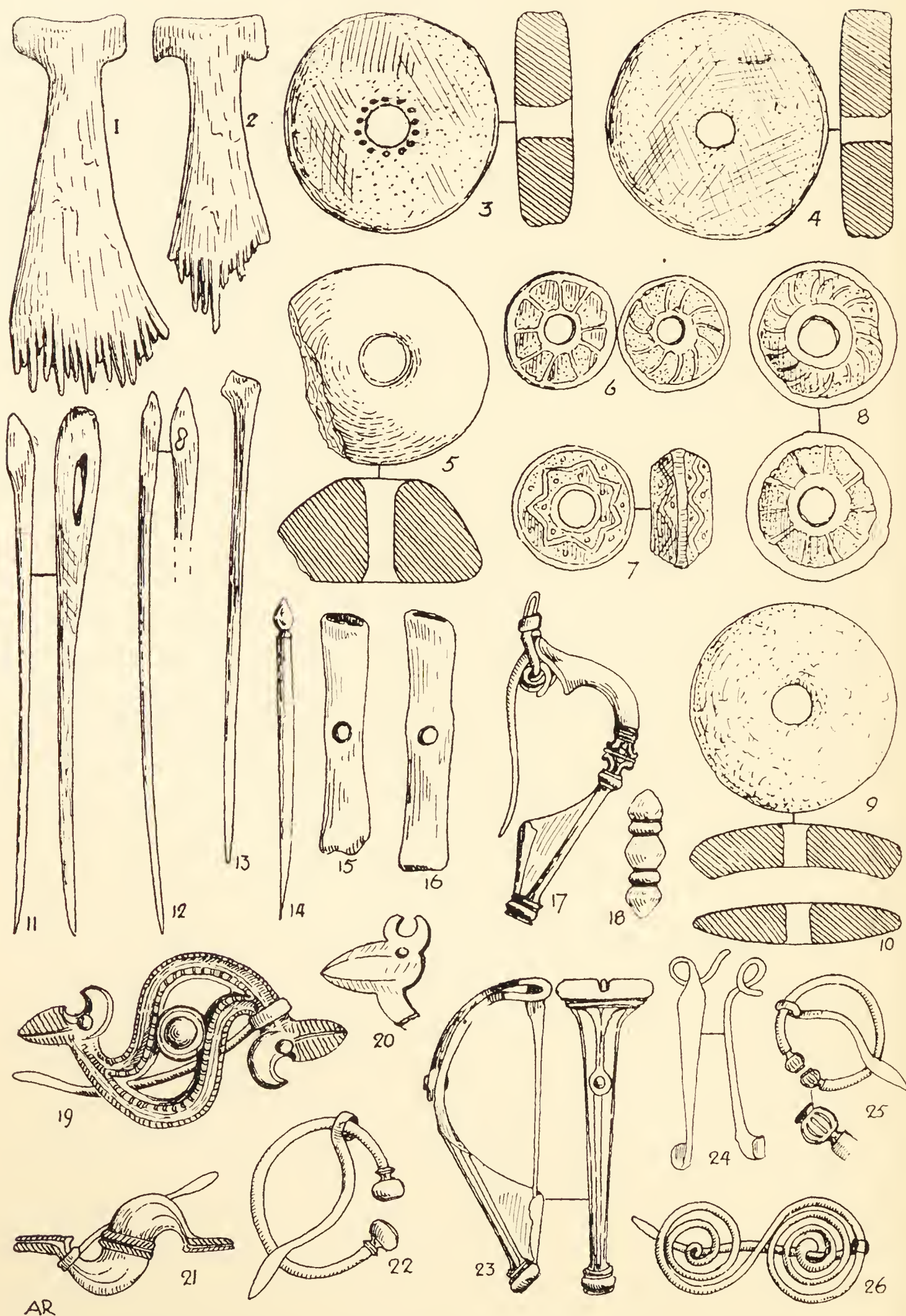


FIG. II. Articles used in weaving and for dress fastenings.

groups, the first being plain lead discs, usually about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, perforated at the middle, and often with the rim hammered up into a thickened flange. Examples of these were found in Attermire and Jubilee caves, Dowkerbottom and Kinsey caves, on Skipton Moor, and at Lea Green, Grassington. Several discs of lead, the same size and thickness as the spindle whorls but not perforated, have been found. The second type of lead whorl is one which has been cast, with a pattern in the casting. These are all biconical, usually about 1 inch diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, with a central hole about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter. The pattern lies in the two circular spaces between the hammered border of the central hole and the edge, which at the junction of the two conical parts has usually been hammered up, probably in use. In an example from Jubilee cave (Fig. II, 6) the pattern on one side consists of straight radial "spokes" raised above the general surface, and on the other side of more numerous and slightly curved spokes. A similar but larger example came from Grassington (Fig. II, 8). Another example from Grassington has the circular space on both sides occupied by a zigzag band which forms a seven-pointed star, with raised cast spots in the triangular spaces both inside and outside the band (Fig. II, 7). The whorl from Hope Hill, Airedale, is rather larger and heavier altogether, and ornamented by irregular rows of raised dots. Still another example has the "spoke" ornament on one side and "dot" on the other.

The stone whorls are very variable in size, the larger examples being about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter, usually with well-ground flat surfaces, and a thickness up to half an inch. In one from Kelco cave (Fig. II, 3) the central hole has a close-set ring of small dots sunk round it, as a band of ornament, while another (Fig. II, 4) associated with it is perfectly plain. Both are made of a very fine grained sandstone, which has taken a fine finish in the working. An example at Jubilee cave is made of fine grey slate, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick at the centre, thinned towards the edges and rounded (Fig. II, 10), and on its surface has a fairly regular arrangement of rough grinding striations left to form a slight pattern. Whorls of the first stone type are common over the whole area, in all the Settle caves, at Grassington, on Skipton Moor, Rumbalds Moor, Hope Hill, at Hukermire and Leyburn in Wensleydale, and at Richmond. A number were obtained from Dowkerbottom cave, and several have been found at many places in Craven, not directly recorded as from enclosures, and so not listed here.

The third group of whorls is those made from pot or stone ware,

The most regular of this type is smaller in diameter, usually $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches or less, with a nearly flat base, steeply domed to the centre thickness of 1 inch or a little less. They are similar in shape to the beehive quern top stone. In some cases there is an ornament of coarse dots around the centre, but most are perfectly plain. The material is a fine hard paste, usually reddish brown outside and darker inside. Good examples were found in Kelco cave (Fig. II, 5), and four in Attermire cave. They were also present in Victoria and Dowkerbottom caves, and at Grassington and Hope Hill. Another type of pottery whorl is modelled on the stone whorls, in coarse grey or brown pottery paste, but in all cases has become slightly concave on the base in baking. These have been recorded from Jubilee (Fig. II, 9), Victoria and Dowkerbottom caves, and broken portions of them from Grassington. Spindle whorls were occasionally made from fragments of pot, as at Jubilee, where a piece of thick Samian ware has been perforated and rubbed circular, and at Kelco, when a piece of dark grey gritted ware was used. More rare than those described are a few whorls that are shaped like very thick beads, small in diameter and very thick, the section being almost semicircular on each side of the perforation. These are made of very fine hard paste. Good examples occur at Attermire and Kelco.

Further articles connected either with the making or use of textiles are needles and pins, and fastenings of various types. The needles are nearly always of bone, usually long splinters from the shin bone of deer, ground to shape and with an eye generally made by two small perforations side by side (Fig. II, 12, from Jubilee cave). They vary in size from very slender short needles, $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 inches in length (Sewell's and Attermire cave) to much stronger "packing" needles, 4 or 5 inches long and very thick. They have been found in all the caves and on the Grassington sites. Along with these can be taken the awls or piercers, usually made from the splint bone of sheep, slit obliquely and ground to a stout point, and used most probably for piercing skins before sewing. These again are common on most sites, including many of the hutment areas away from the caves (Fig. II, 13). The commonest dress fastening is the toggle (Fig. II, 15 & 16). These are made of bone, with a perforation through a slightly thickened middle part, the toggle about 2 inches long and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, with a transverse perforation along the length, either complete or partial. A few examples are ornamented (Fig. III, 13, from Victoria cave) either by incised lines or with the ring and dot ornament so common

in this period. The toggles have been found in all the caves, and on a few of the outside sites as well.

BROOCHES.

This is by far the most attractive group of articles from the caves, no complete examples being found outside them, probably from the liability of bronze to perish in a drained soil or gravel. The brooches are of four main types—the penannular, disc, dragonesque, and harp brooch. The penannular brooches occur in all the caves, with very little variation. They are an incomplete bronze circlet, with the ends ornamented by knobs, and with a large pin (Fig. II, 22 & 25). The knob is usually marked off from the ring by mouldings, and may itself be decorated by “writhen” or straight incised pattern (Fig. II, 25). The commoner size is about 1 inch diameter, and a rarer type about $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The penannular brooch is common throughout the Roman period in Britain. The disc brooches are rare, the main examples being from Victoria, Attermire, and Dowkerbottom caves. These are circular bronze discs, with pin or fastening on one side, and on the other an ornament partly cast and partly picked out in enamel. An example at Attermire cave has ornament of concentric raised bands and rings of raised dots in the space between. This represents the simpler type. More elaborate types have been figured from Victoria cave, with treble spiral ornament of best Celtic type, too well known to need particular description (Dawkins: *Cave Hunting*, Smith. Coll. Ant., etc.). The dragonesque brooches represent the height of the Celtic craftsmanship in the North. These again are well known and have been discussed at length in recent papers.

Two examples from Attermire are figured (Fig. II, 19 & 21), with the broken head from one (Fig. II, 20) from Kelco cave. Fig. II, 21, is of a type described by Collingwood as Flavian, made like the rest of the dragonesque brooches in the North of England during the early second century A.D.

The harp or “trumpet” brooches are the most numerous in this area, several being found at Dowkerbottom and Victoria caves, four at Sewell’s cave, three at Attermire cave, and fragments of some at Kelco and other caves in the vicinity. The most typical form is that with trumpet-form head and double acanthus ornament at the middle of the bow, type R (ii) of Collingwood (*Arch. of Roman Britain*) (Fig. II, 17, from Attermire cave). This is accompanied at Sewell’s cave by one of head-stud type (Collingwood type Q; Fig. II, 23) and at Dowkerbottom by a slightly plainer

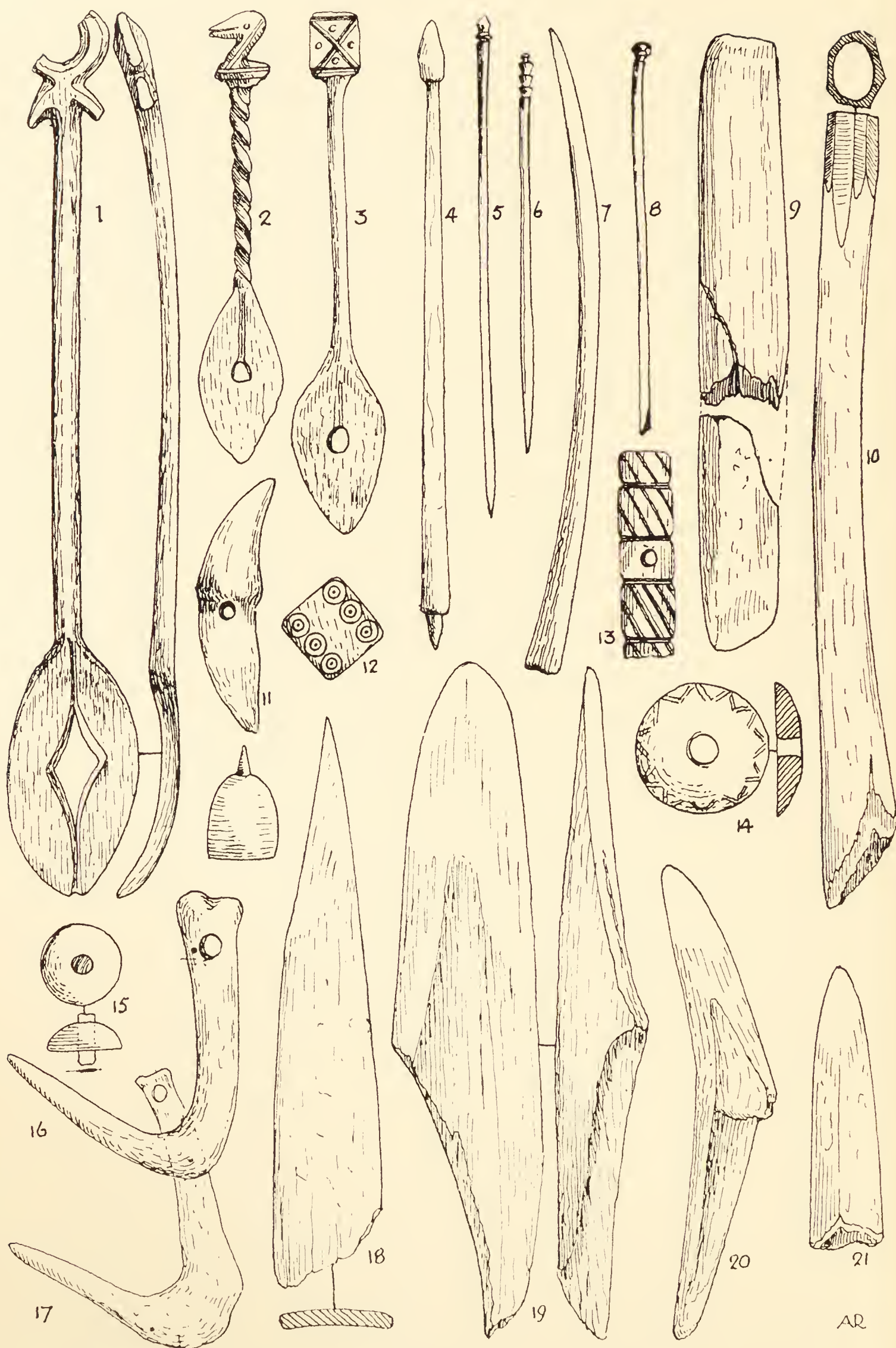


FIG. III. Miscellaneous bone articles.

earlier type. All agree in belonging to the period approximately 100–150 A.D., and are typical Brigantian products of the North. There are, along with them, a few examples of the double spiral wire brooch (Fig. II, 26), which fit into the same cultural background. There are several bronze pins and bars belonging to similar or plainer brooch types (Fig. II, 24), which need no special description.

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

In most of the caves, and on some of the sites at Grassington, Malham, and in Wensleydale, beads are present—mainly the greenish paste faience type, either plain or with vertical grooving. At Attermire there is an amber bead, and at several of the caves beads or similar ornaments of bone, with incised decoration (Fig. III, 14). Perforated teeth of wolf, used as part of a necklace, were found at Dowkerbottom, Victoria and Jubilee caves. At Jubilee and Dowkerbottom there was a small bone “button,” perforated with a thin bone “stem” in it, which can be regarded as a pin (Fig. III, 15). Among miscellaneous bone objects is a curious “teetotum” (Fig. III, 22) and a fine bone dice from Attermire (Fig. III, 12). Bone hairpins of Roman type, and a stylus, are illustrated in Fig. III, 4, 5, 6, & 8, and Fig. II, 14. Bronze pins with the head decorated either with silver inlay or enamel were found in the hutments at Grassington and in Dowkerbottom and Victoria caves.

In all the cave sites, and on the hutments of Malham Moor, Grassington, and in Wensleydale, fragments of bracelets are fairly common. The commonest type is made of grey pottery or stone ware, generally with an ornament of thin blue paste in a wavy band along the outer circumference. A few bracelets of lignite or poor quality jet were found at Settle and at Grassington, and in the caves at Settle two portions of bracelets of lignite carved in a very fine twist pattern.

Hair combs have been found at Dowkerbottom, Victoria and Sewell's caves, with the common decoration of one or two concentric circles around a dot upon the back. Perforated teeth of wolf and perforated shells are evidences on all areas of the use of these objects for necklaces. At Embsay, near Skipton, a fine Celtic torc was obtained, and has been figured in the *Victoria County History*. Fragments of a similar torc came from Attermire cave, Settle.

In the caves an article of bone that seems to be almost unique to the area, but not at all rare, is the bone spoon with perforated bowl. Fig. III, 1, Jubilee cave, and 2 & 3 from Victoria, are typical

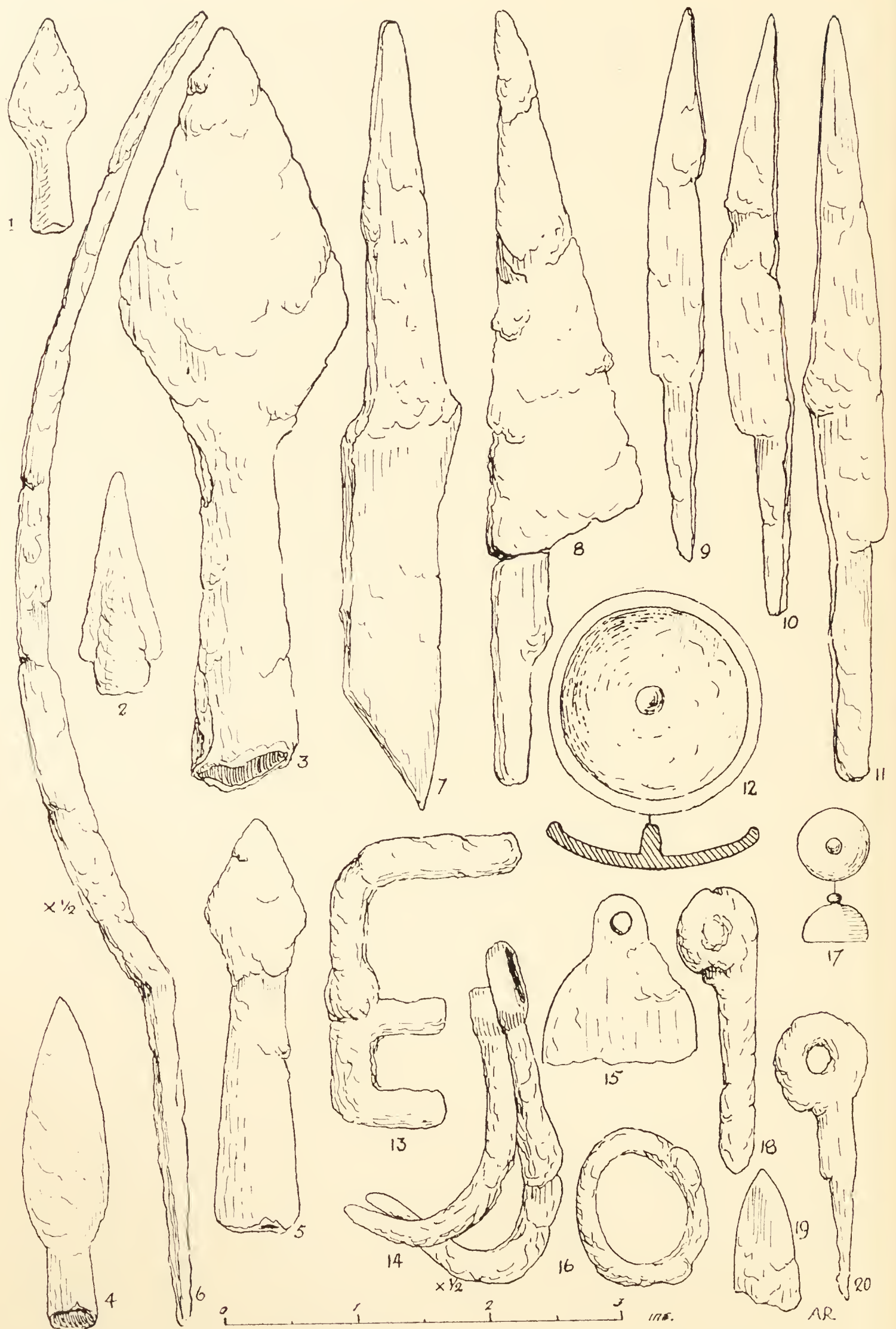


FIG. IV. Iron implements, etc., from the caves and villages.

of the group. The simplest forms have a shank that is plain, with a very plain rectangular head, free from ornament or having only a few incised lines across it (Sewell's cave, Attermire cave, Dowkerbottom cave, and Kinsey cave): in some the head is square, with crossed diagonal incised lining, with circular dots in the quadrants, or the head is cut by indentations into a double or triple section (Sewell's and Attermire caves). The shank may be ornamented by incised lines making herringbone or zigzag pattern (Attermire and Jubilee), or in the most elaborate example (Victoria cave, Fig. III, 2) the handle is carved in a spiral twist and surmounted by a bird's head and neck. The bowl is usually rather diamond-shaped with well rounded corners, or plain oval, in all cases perforated near the centre. In some cases the central perforation is small and circular, usually accompanying a plain shank and head, or in the more elaborate spoons the hole is pear-shaped or diamond-shaped (Fig. III, 1 & 2, and Attermire and Dowkerbottom examples). Nearly twenty examples have now been obtained from the Settle and Wharfedale caves, and they can be regarded as an intimate member of this particular culture.

TOOLS AND WEAPONS.

Tools and weapons of bone and iron form a large part of the remains from the caves and the hutments. Bone is mainly used for chisels (Fig. III, 9 & 19), lance points (Fig. III, 18, 20 & 21), and large fish-hooks (Fig. III, 16 & 17). Partially worked bones (Fig. III, 10) from which a finished article has probably been cut off, and saw-marked bones, are very common.

Among the iron weapons, swords are represented by three examples at Sewell's cave (11) and spear-heads of many types from many of the caves and burials. A large hunting spear, socketed, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with the boss for the base of the shaft, was got at Jubilee, while javelin points of common Roman type (Fig. IV, 3) occur in several of the caves. Arrow-points (Fig. IV, 1, 2, 4 & 5) have occurred in Sewell's, Jubilee, Victoria, Attermire, and Dowkerbottom caves. The occurrence of knives associated with burials and on the village sites at Grassington has already been mentioned. These are common in all the caves (Fig. IV, 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11) and are fairly true to two types—the slender tanged blade, and the larger "chopper" type, with a fairly substantial tang or haft. In Attermire cave, and at Grassington, iron knives with deer-horn hafts were found. Mr. T. Lord has recently found two knives with a "clint" burial near Feizor, linking up these



FIG. V. Coarse calcite gritted ware, black to brown, jar rims.

J—Jubilee Cave, Settle.

K.S.—King Scar Caves, Settle.

G—Grassington Borrans, Wharfedale.

burials with those in Wharfedale. In addition to the weapons there is a great miscellany of iron objects, many of them probably representing "raw material" in the form of waste or plunder from the Roman camps; among these are iron nails and spikes, Roman keys, hooks, rings, and fragments of plate and iron pots (Fig. IV).

POTTERY.

The pottery falls into two distinct groups. The commonest that occurs on all sites, both the large and small fields and hutments and in the caves, is a very coarse dark brown to black, heavily calcite-gritted ware, with a "corky" texture. Fragments of this have been obtained from practically every site examined, the commonest fragments being small portions of rims, not often

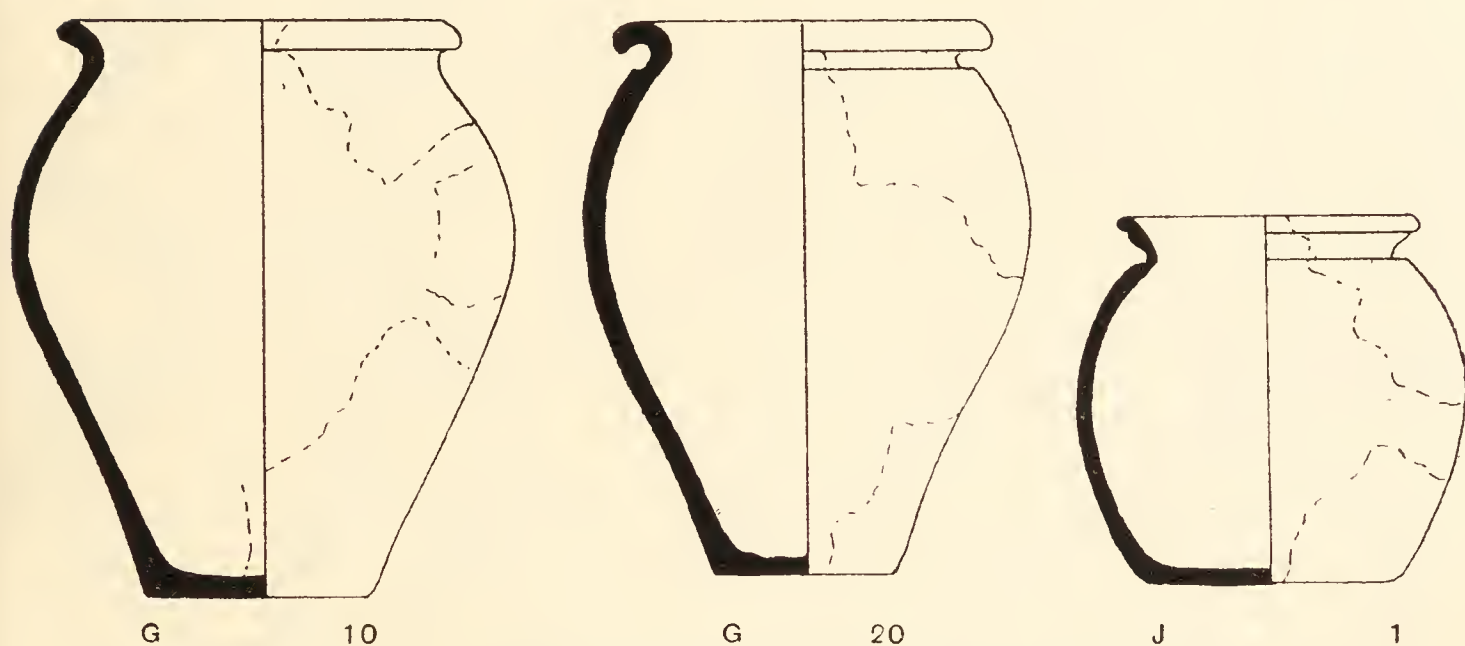


FIG. VI. Restoration of three of the jars of Fig. V.

more than an inch or so in length. In the caves, and on the larger village sites, however, longer rim sections have been obtained, sufficient to determine the pot diameters, and along with them, body and base fragments that have enabled restoration of complete vessels in a few cases. The rims are illustrated in Fig. V, and are seen to be, with the exception of 1 and 2, overhanging thickened rims characteristic of ollae or cooking pots (Fig. VI). Examples 3 to 13 have the rim continuous with the body curve, 14 to 24 being shouldered. There is very great diversity of thickness, and of rim section, but all pastes approximate to one pattern, without being identical. It has not yet been possible to arrange these in any sequence, but the associated material suggests that most of them belong to the latter part of the first and most of the second century A.D., and their very widespread distribution indicates that they

were the principal pottery of the settlements, possibly of local and native manufacture.

The second group consists of coarse Roman wares of many kinds, mainly restricted to the Settle caves and to the Grassington settlements. These again are mainly small rim fragments, and are illustrated in Fig. VII. They need little comment, as all belong to types that have been recorded from Elslack, Bainbridge, and Ilkley Roman camps, in the near vicinity, and again agree fairly



FIG. VII.

well in date, the bulk of them belonging to early second century. A few fragments of Samian decorated ware have been found (see Sewell's cave report), and a few fragments of possibly fourth-century Roman pottery.

COINS.¹

Many coins have been found in the caves and a few on the hutment sites in Wharfedale, associated with the pottery just described,

¹ The detailed discussion of the pottery and the coins has been reserved for a later paper, the amount of pottery being too large for separate descriptions here.

and these belong mainly to the first and early second centuries, agreeing with the bulk of the pottery. In Victoria and Dowker-bottom caves, and on a few of the sites, a small number of later coins of the late third and early fourth centuries occur, and are in agreement in date with a small proportion of the pottery, which is of early fourth-century types.

DISTRIBUTION OF SITES.

The map (Fig. VIII) shows at a glance the distribution over Craven of the main hutment and cave sites, and can be very briefly summarised by saying that the principal areas are the limestone pastures between the Craven Faults, and the limestone terraces along the sides of the valleys of the Wharfe, Skirfare, and upper Ribble, and on the limestone plateau that surrounds Ingleborough. These areas coincide fairly closely with the upper surface of the "Mountain Limestone," the areas above them being mainly formed of the Yoredale series of thin limestones, sandstones, and thick shales. At the present time the plateau formed by this limestone surface is generally near 1,000 feet above sea level, and is characterised by close grown, fine quality limestone pasture and large areas of bare limestone, the whole being considerably broken up by small limestone scars formed by numerous faults and by weathering. The higher ground is generally very rough, wet or boggy pasture with few scars and with practically none of the sheltered hollows that abound on the plateau. The drainage is almost entirely underground, as surface streams and water running off the Yoredale series of rocks sink underground soon after reaching the limestone and re-appear at springs in the deeper valleys. The valley bottoms are mainly filled by boulder clay and by clay silts from residual glacial lakes, and are swampy and almost incapable of being drained. The lowlands south of the Craven Faults are almost entirely covered by glacial deposits and are wet, badly drained clay land.

From the accumulating evidence of the past climatic conditions, derived from the study of peats and their contained tree pollen (7, 10), it has become clear that the climatic conditions had considerable influence on the distribution of habitable sites during the Iron age. The general result of the pollen analysis of the peats on most of the West Yorkshire fells (10, and work still unpublished) indicate that during the Bronze age, peats were accumulating on many of our moors, which on analysis yield remains of a flora suited to warm and dry conditions, but that the period eventually became dry enough to stop the accumulation of peat. The tree line was

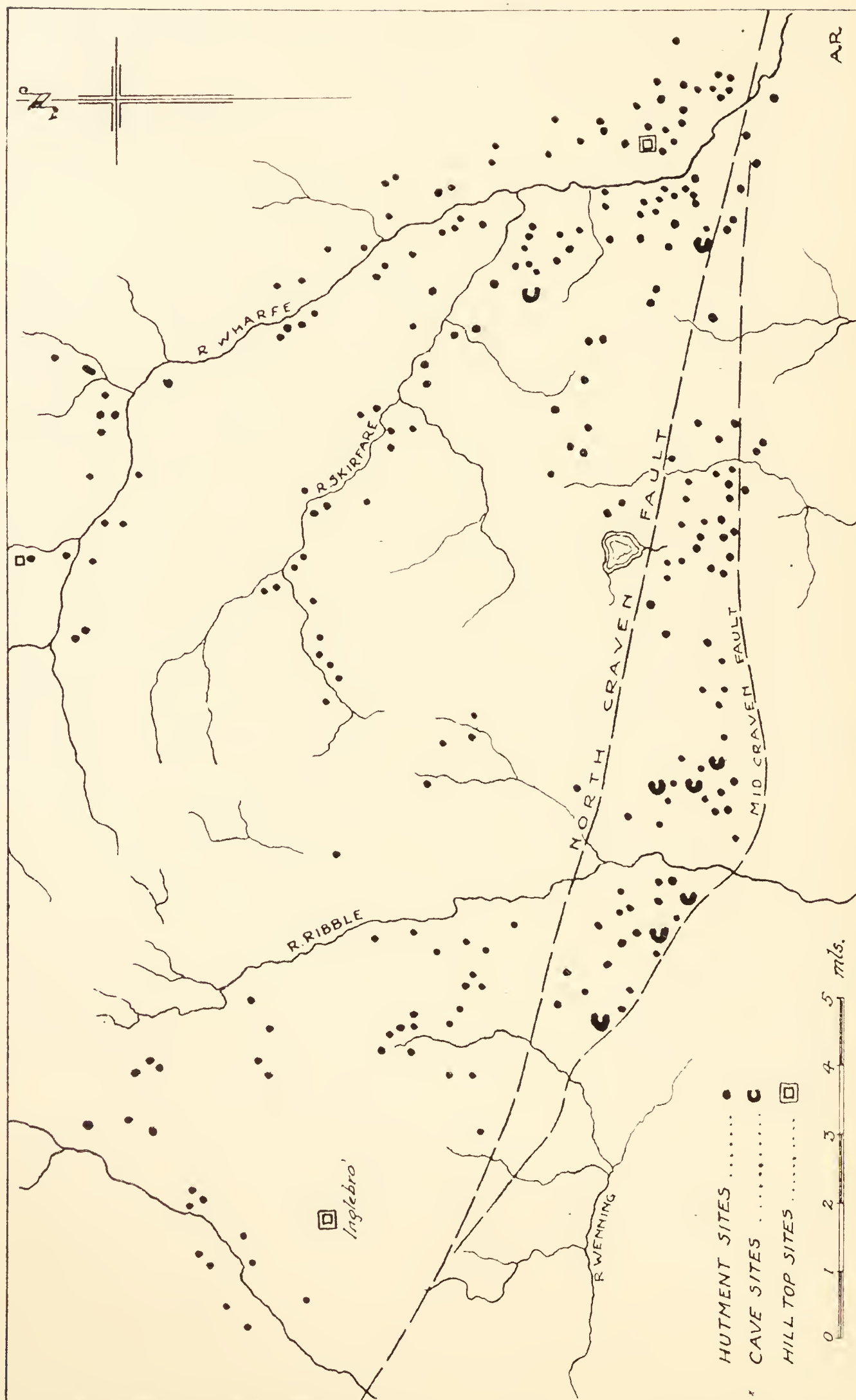


FIG. VIII. Distribution of hutment sites.

very high, birch woods in particular being found at more than 2,000 feet above sea level. In this warm, dry period, the Bronze age people were able to occupy many outdoor sites in positions that are now far too exposed and wet to seem at all tenable. A change in climate occurred towards the latter part of the first millenium B.C., such that by about 200 B.C. it had become very much colder and wetter. This period, called sub-Atlantic, extended over all the Iron age in West Yorkshire and far into historic time. Its first effect was to kill off the high-level birch scrub, and to encourage the formation of swamp and coarse, reedy and boggy vegetation on all the hill slopes and summits, except those that had excellent drainage—*e.g.* the limestone plateau. During the Iron age, shelter from cold winds, along with a well-drained site, were essentials, and at the same time the good pasture only survived on the limestone areas. The valley bottoms were swamps still, and the lower hill slopes densely wooded. We must therefore picture the limestone plateaus of Craven, and the limestone terraces in all the Dales from Wharfedale to Teesdale, as the oases of good, dry pasture, with abundant wind shelter under and between the many small crags. On the uplands, wolves, hares, and deer were driven nearer to the drier pastures, and Iron age man became a skilled hunter. Cattle and sheep, attracted to the richer limestone pasture, were captured and domesticated, while fishing was good in the rivers and in the numerous remnants of the glacial lakes (the dug-out canoe of Giggleswick tarn is a reminder of the many tarns now drained, but then large enough for boating). It is probable that some of the grains used were cultivated, as at Grassington, in small clearings on the upper edges of the woodlands, as well as on the south-facing slopes of the limestone areas. Berries and fruits, wild boar, and many birds, were got from the woods and valley bottoms.

South and west of Craven, where the mountain limestone is deep buried, the Iron age hutments are far less numerous, and are restricted almost entirely to the “edges” or escarpments of the coarser members of the millstone grit formation. The sites at and around Ilkley and Addingham are ranged along the well-drained outcrop of the Kinderscout and middle grits, and near Baildon are mainly on the Rough Rock and the thick Elland Flags. In the Huddersfield and neighbouring districts this still applies, the sites being nearly all on the grit “edges.” As the grits rarely form a plateau comparable to the limestone areas, but nearly always occur as a narrow outcrop along the valley side, sites are much more strung out and much rarer on the grit country. The grits also give

only rough pasture, and sites in the grit country are mainly small hunting sites, not often associated with large enclosures or field systems.

The general nature of the settlements and of the remains from them indicate that in this cold, wet climate life must have been hard, and the standard of living low. On the larger settlements and villages, however, the combination of hunting and fishing with a little cultivation of grain and the domestication of animals, like cow and sheep, would give a great degree of stability that could weather many natural difficulties. Among the human remains, arthritis has left its abundant mark, and the comparative youth of most skeletons found suggests that living conditions were not very healthy. The constant presence of the coarse pottery is evidence that food was almost always cooked, most commonly by the use of "pot-boiler" stones. Animal bones were often cracked for the extraction of the marrow, and some of the coarser animals, like otter and fox, are abundantly represented among the kitchen debris.

The material culture is very simple, and again seems to be indicative of a poor people. Bone and flint are still prime materials for all kinds of tools. Iron tools are not present in large numbers, and are usually either fashioned from recognisable fragments of Roman ironwork, or of definite Roman workmanship, and such as could be obtained by barter or plunder from any of the Roman camps in the district. Brooches are mainly of the local (Brough-under-Stainmoor) type and seem to be the most valuable possession. The only cultural material that seems eminently native to this culture and distinctive of it is the very varied collection of bone "spoons." These seem to be a local artistic product, and their function was probably that of ceremonial dress fastenings or "toggles." The two expanded ends, the bowl and the cross-head, with the straight shaft between, would make them very efficient for this purpose. The pottery, except for the cooking-pot group, is fragmentary, and probably obtained from the Roman camps.

At the end of the Roman occupation all evidence of the occupation of settlements and caves ceases, and the lynchets and field and village groups of the Anglo-Danish settlers of the seventh and later centuries are on entirely different sites. In many cases groups of strip lynchets approach an Iron age settlement, but stop short of its walls, and no evidence has been obtained or suggested anywhere that there was any later re-occupation of the Celtic sites.

The contact with the Romans may have been entirely peaceful,

though there is evidence that during the second century a rising of the hill groups took place, which brought to an end the Roman exploitation of the lead mines of this area. In the mines of Greenhow Hill, Grassington and Swaledale, the Brigantian (Iron age) natives were probably employed under very strict Roman discipline. The general picture of the powerful Brigantian tribe occupying the West Riding of Yorkshire, that has been drawn from Roman sources and from excavations at Roman towns (Aldborough, etc.), must for the present be restricted to the richer lowlands fringing the Craven area. The civil areas at the large Roman camps have nothing in common with the grim poverty of the upland hutments and villages, and it is doubtful if the hard struggle to exist left any time for thought of organisation or civil rule among the Craven Brigantes. Ingleborough and Far Gregory seem rather places of refuge in necessity, than central military stations or forts of a war-like people. The whole picture vividly portrayed by the Iron age settlements of the Dales, west of Catterick and Aldborough, is that of a poverty-stricken pastoral and hunting people, gladly using the cultural fragments that could be bartered or plundered from the adjacent Roman stations, restricted in the area of ground that was suitable for pasture or capable of maintaining life, and subject to a very unfavourable climate. It may be that we are here dealing with the remnant of a proud people, who refused to accept Roman protection or to live in the Roman-controlled towns, and who chose freedom with poverty on the high ground rather than richer living in the camps of their previous enemies.

Most of the material described in this paper is now in the Craven Museum, Skipton, or the Pig Yard Club Museum, Settle, and my thanks are due to these museums for the constant free access allowed me, and for the care and space given to allow of the display of this material in permanent form. Many persons have assisted in the excavations, of whom it is only possible here to mention the late John Crowther of Grassington, and the present active members of the Pig Yard Club, Settle, whose work is evidenced by the splendid collections in their museum.

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SOME POPULAR REACTIONS TO THE EDWARDIAN REFORMATION IN YORKSHIRE.

By A. G. DICKENS.

At no stage of the Reformation were there wanting in Yorkshire manifestations of that conservative outlook which viewed with apprehension the proceedings of the reformers in both church and state. The Edwardian Reformation, with its new liturgy, its dissolution of chantries, religious gilds, free chapels and other foundations, its later confiscation of church goods, inevitably provoked unrest in a society for which the institutions of the church had by no means relapsed into general discredit. The social and ecclesiastical effects of these reforming measures present broad fields for investigation, but our present purpose is to trace the evidences of popular reaction to such measures. Except in the case of the Yorkshire rising of 1549, to which we shall accord special attention, our concern will be with effects rather than with causes.

In passing from the previous reign to that of Edward VI we find source-problems become more acute. No guide remotely comparable with the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* is to hand; the domestic state papers are indeed not merely ill-calendared but very scanty. Nevertheless, scraps of evidence from a variety of other sources prove more numerous than might at first sight be assumed, and the resultant mosaic seems not without pattern or meaning.

The state of opinion in Yorkshire at the very outset of the reign is indicated in the correspondence between Lord President Holgate and the Privy Council, preserved in the Bodleian Library.¹ In its letter of 29 January, 1547, announcing the death of Henry VIII, the Privy Council, doubtless recalling the old troubles in the North, urges Holgate to "give such order and direction in all places within the limits of your commission as all things may continue in quiet and tranquillity, and have such a regard abroad as if any seditious persons would attempt any business, the same may be straight met withal at the first."² On the following 26 May the Council writes somewhat more definitely: "These shall be to signify

¹ Bodleian Tanner MSS. xc, fos. 145-6 *passim*. Several items are printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, ix, 542 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, ix, 543, from Tanner MSS. xc, fo. 143.

unto the same that it hath been brought to our knowledge that certain persons as well within York as in other places thereabouts have not only used very slanderous and naughty words against us but also very seditiously set forth the rancour and malice of their lewd intents, to the maintenance of their old naughty lives contrary to their duty to the king's majesty our most gracious sovereign lord in whose minority all our study and care is to have his people in due order of obedience, and amongst the rest would be sorry that those which after their naughtiness heretofore received such grace and favour as whereby they owe before others to be of honest conformity and obedience in all things, should now shew themselves of disposition to return to their naughtiness."¹ The remainder of the letter proceeds to remonstrate with Holgate for failing to keep the Council informed regarding these signs of disaffection.

Late in the following year a case somewhat petty in itself seems to have brought to light continued underground movements in York. On 5 December, 1548, the Mayor and his brethren agreed "that Nyccolson son at Bowthome Barre shalbe commytt to my Lorde Mayor kydcote and to be kepte in the lowe prison unto a further order be takyn as consernyng a sclanderous bill that he confessith that he mayd and sett uppon the Mynster dore."² Two days later it was agreed "that a lettre shalbe sent to my Lorde Protector's grace as concernyng dyvers sclaunderous billes that was set upp of dowers and wyndos within the said citie and that my Lorde Mayer shall appoynt one of the chamberleyns to ryde upp to London with the same lettre and coppies of the said billes."³ A reply signed by Protector Somerset and dated 16 December was dutifully copied into the House Book. It praises the vigilance of the authorities for the common quiet and prays them to continue punishing setters-forth of seditious bills and tales. "And as concernyng the said scoler who haith confessyd his lewde demeanor contrary to the proclamacion laitlie setfurth agaynst suche sedicious billes, setting up or sowing of vayne rumors and tales, you shall uppon the next markett day or when you shall thynke mooste mete in mooste resorte, for somuche as we perceyve dyvers billes haith beyn sithe that tyme sediciously sett furth, to the terror of other, that they shall the rather be warr, sett hym uppon the pyllory for the space of one hower or two, with a paper declaryng

¹ *Ibid.*, ix, 547-8, from Tanner MSS. xc, fo. 149. The reference is clearly to the Pilgrimage of Grace and the pardons granted after it. Cf. the Yorkshire submissions of

1541 printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, liii, 272-5.

² York House Book xix, fo. 41v.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 42v.

the cause, kepyng hym in prison untill that tyme and so dymys hym at libertie.”¹ The precise nature of the sedition is not disclosed; the identity of the other offenders and of those who inspired the youthful scapegoat apparently remained unknown to the authorities.

The vigorous undercurrent of recusancy in Elizabethan York forbids us to believe that the passivity of the city during the reign of Edward VI indicates universal contentment with religious change. Nevertheless York men, who lived immediately beneath the eye of authority, contrived to keep their opinions to themselves. The York physician Thomas Vavasour, under Elizabeth a prominent sufferer for religion along with his wife Dorothy, is perhaps the only recorded exception.

“Mr Doctor Vavasour, a man both grave, learned, and godly for his great and christian fortitude in defending the Catholic faith, was forced to fly, and was banished his country in King Edward’s days, through the malice of heretics, who suborned one Mr Cheek,² schoolmaster to King Edward, to procure his banishment, which Cheek, after his return in Queen Mary’s time, did ask him mercy, confessing his fault.”³

Whereas the vast bulk of the monastic properties had been rural,⁴ the Edwardian dissolutions exerted a proportionally far greater effect upon town life. At least two examples of municipal resentment in Yorkshire are recorded, though in the case of Hull our evidence derives only from the town’s late eighteenth-century historians Tickell and Hadley. They nevertheless write circumstantially and had access to municipal records which disappeared sometime during the last century.⁵ After a curious and detailed account of the destruction of images in Holy Trinity church, Hadley asserts that much murmuring followed amongst the inhabitants, who did not dare openly to express their disgust.⁶ Tickell

¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 42.

² Sir John Cheke, the famous humanist who “taught Cambridge and King Edward Greek.” He was a keen Protestant; imprisoned 1553–4 for complicity with Northumberland and forcibly converted by the Marians (*D.N.B.*; cf. C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 114–117). The story has hence an air of probability.

³ H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, iii, 237. The passage is a modernised transcript from the MS. ‘F’ of the

seventeenth century martyrologist Father Grene, now in the archives of the English College, Rome. Cf. *ibid.*, iii, 233–4, for a note on the Vavasours, and also the similar passage in Grene’s MS. ‘M’ at Stonyhurst, printed in J. Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, iii, 317.

⁴ A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, p. 140.

⁵ Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 301.

⁶ G. Hadley, *History of Kingston upon Hull* (1788), pp. 88–9.

quotes from a vigorous protest against the Edwardian dissolutions made by the town, which secured the restoration to their original uses of certain hospitals, chapels and revenues. As might be expected in a place more open than the rest of Yorkshire to the influx of advanced ideas,¹ this protest seems to have been based on something other than mere conservative reaction. While complaining "that the church was ruined, the clergy beggared, all learning despised, and that the people began to grow barbarous, atheistical and rude," the corporation continued "that ignorance and popery would again soon overrun the nation, if they continued thus to ruin and destroy the church and religion; for that learned and pious ministers could scarce be either hoped for or expected, without a fit maintenance to support and encourage them."²

The grievances of another town are reflected in a later petition made by John Hamerton of Monkrode and Purston Jaglin³ to Cardinal Pole on behalf of Pontefract. The petitioner pleads for the rebuilding of the church belonging to the College and Hospital of the Trinity; and continues: "My lord, as I have sayd before, we had in that towne one abbay,⁴ too collegys,⁵ a house of freers prechers,⁶ one ancrys,⁷ one ermyt, four chantre prestes,⁸ one gyld pryst.⁹ Of all thes the in abbytance of the towne of Pomfret ar nether releveyd bodely nor gostely. We have there lefte an unlernyd vecar, which hyryth too prestes, for in dede he ys not able to dyscharge the cure other wayys; . . . And every one catchyth apece, but the pore nedy members of Chryst catchyt none at all. But my sute to your noble grace at this present ys, most umble to desyer your grace that yow wyll have compassion of the great

¹ Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 308.

² J. Tickell, *History of Hull* (1798), p. 207, thus paraphrases a document, evidently a copy of the petition, in the municipal records. The present writer has been unable to find the document there.

³ Sub-comptroller of the household to Henry VIII and Mary; buried at Featherstone 23 February, 1575 (*J. Foster, Yorks. Pedigrees*, vol. i).

⁴ The Cluniac Priory of St. John, surrendered 23 November, 1539 (*Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii, 184-6).

⁵ The College of the Trinity, often known as Knolles Almshouses (*ibid.*, iii, 318-20); the almshouse part of the foundation being continued by Elizabeth in 1563 (B. Boothroyd, *History of Pontefract*, p. 390). The other college here intended is probably St. Clement's Collegiate Chapel,

suppressed under the Chantries Act (*Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii, 366-7). It was in the castle and contained chantries; it served the castle and parts nearby as a parish church (*Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, Surtees Soc., xci, xcii, 323-5: these volumes are subsequently cited as *Y.C.S.*).

⁶ The Blackfriars Priory, surrendered 26 November, 1538 (*Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii, 271-3).

⁷ Ancress. The spellings are innumerable.

⁸ There were four chantries in the parish church (*Y.C.S.*, pp. 272-5).

⁹ Possibly the priest nominated by the mayor and his brethren (*ibid.*, p. 276). In this list of foundations the petition does not include the Hospital of St. Nicholas, which survived the Reformation (*Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii, 320).

mesery that this sayd towne of Pomfret ys fallyn into, both bodely and gostely, sence the godly fundacyons afore sayd hath bene so amysse orderyd, and mysse usyd, and the hole sanctures of God so petefully defilyd, and spoulyd," &c.¹

Yet this grudge against the process of spoliation did not prevent Yorkshiremen from realising that the changes of the time presented opportunities for personal gain. It has elsewhere been observed that for some years previously many patrons of chantries and wardens of guilds were trying to alienate or resume to themselves the lands and possessions of those foundations.² Instances of legal efforts by patrons to secure chantry lands during the process of dissolution are not lacking. Sir William Drury, Sir John Constable and others petitioned, probably in 1548, for the restoration of the fee intail of the manor of Wrenthorpe, which supported the Southill chantry of four priests in Wakefield parish church.³ Patrons sometimes successfully resisted on technical grounds the claims of the Crown. Although the chantry of St. Anne in Askrigg chapel had been supported by some kind of charge on his lands, Sir Christopher Metcalfe obtained a discharge by decree of the Court of Augmentations—apparently for lack of legal evidence that his ancestor had conveyed lands to, or settled rents upon the chantry.⁴ It would be interesting to know whether Metcalfe and the priest conspired to destroy the evidences.

In York the element of self-interest was as strong as elsewhere. On the one hand the Mayor, aldermen and officials are found purchasing, doubtless at advantageous rates, the lands of dissolved foundations.⁵ On the other hand it was declared before them on 3 April, 1551, "that the lead of diverse cherches within this citie have ben alate pulled downe by the parochians of the same cherches and melted and the same cherches thakked ageyne with tyle to the great defacyng of the hole citie and slaunder of my Lord Maiour and his brederne."⁶ Petition, intrigue and litigation were indeed

¹ Publ. Rec. Off. S.P. 15. 7, no. 51, p. 112.

² Y.C.S., i, x-xi. Examples are adduced not only from the Chantry Surveys themselves, but from Publ. Rec. Off., Star Chamber Proceedings (Hen. VIII, bdle. 18, nos. 73-4; bdle. 19, no. 264) and Exch. Special Commissions (2609). Several Yorkshire cases of tortious possession of chantry lands, disputed possession of chantry goods, etc., occur in the Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings.

³ Cal. S. P. Dom., 1547-80, p. 12; cf. Y.C.S., p. 307.

⁴ W. C. and G. Metcalfe, *Records of the Family of Metcalfe*, pp. 13-20, print the surviving documents *in extenso*. Letters Patent and an Inquisition regarding the foundation are extant, but no conveyance.

⁵ York House Book xix, fos. 46-7, 76, 98v. Full treatment of these and other complex problems involved by the Edwardian changes in York must be reserved for the future.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xx, fo. 51.

not the only methods employed to gain a share in the spoils. The correspondence previously cited between the Privy Council and Archbishop Holgate indicates that at the outset of the reign much unauthorised alienation of church plate and other goods had already taken place,¹ while commissions and inventories suggest the continuance of the process until the government seized what remained in 1553.²

This unofficial action is vividly recalled by the South Yorkshire writer Sherbrook in his *Falle of Religious Howses, Colleges, Chantreys, Hospitalls, &c.*, a tendencious account written many years later.³ "But yet some church wardens, wiser than other some, sold many things to the use of the parish: yea that thing for I d which cost XII d (as I myself can witness that bought part of the church goods) & many other persons there were then of the like consciences & condicions to the commissioners, which persons took many things away without commissions, seeing all things were put to the spoil. For they plucked up the brass of tombs & gravestones in the church, contrary to the very words of the Estatute. And some stole the bells forth of the steeple; as one gentleman, whose name was Boseville,⁴ dwelling then at Tyckell-Castle⁵ (a very shyfter, I will not say a theif, & sithence made a minister) stole the great bell forth of the steeple in St. Johnes⁶ & carried it away in the night."⁷ As in the case of the monastic dissolutions, the people of the North displayed throughout the Edwardian changes an attitude strangely compounded of self-interest and conservatism.

The inveterate if usually veiled conservatism which appears to have marked northern clerical opinion during these years finds its

¹ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, ix, 546-7, from Tanner MSS. xc, fos. 153-4.

² *Inventories of Church Goods*, Surtees Soc., xcvi, 1-2, 6, 9, 53, etc.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5813, fos. 5-29. Much of this narrative was written in 1591, though earlier passages bear striking evidence of the date 1567. Extracts have been printed by Ellis (*Original Letters*, third series, iii, 31-7) and Gasquet (*Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 317-22; 500-5).

⁴ Thomas Bosvile (or Boswell), younger brother of Thomas of the Gunthwaite branch, is described as of Tickhill in visitations (Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, 345), and a Thomas Bosseville is mentioned as Deputy Steward of Tickhill Honor in a Duchy of Lancaster case, undated

but of the reign of Edward VI (*Ducatus Lancastriae, Cal. to Pleadings*, i, 262). Curiously enough he appears in this case as plaintiff against one Charles Graives and others over the detention of plate of chapels and churches in breach of the king's commission for return of inventories.

⁵ In an advanced state of decay in 1538 (*Y.A.J.*, ix, 221-2) but still belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster.

⁶ The only possible local church of this dedication appears to be St. John's in the parish of Laughton-en-le-Morthen (*cf.* Hunter, *op. cit.*, i, 287). It is not the parish church and "St. Johnes" would suffice without further qualification for those acquainted with the locality.

⁷ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5813, fo. 27.

outstanding expression in a short chronicle of the Reformation written about 1555 by Robert Parkyn, curate of Adwick-le-Street near Doncaster.¹ In vigorous and striking terms Parkyn expresses the disgust of his class at the English Prayer Books which displaced the "olde ceremonies laudable usyde before tyme in wholly church," at the dissolutions and confiscations and at the debasement of the coinage. Above all he abhorred those who affirmed "thatt it was leaffull for preastes to marie women usynge tham as ther wyffes, wiche was veray pleasauntt to many, for they were maryede in veray deyde both byschoppes & other inferiowres beyng so blyndide with carnall concupiscens that thay prechide & tawghtt the people oppenly that it was lawfull so to do by Gods law, and enactyde the same."² Foremost among the "carnall byschoppes of this realme"³ was Archbishop Holgate himself, whose marriage provoked opposition in his own metropolitan church.⁴ The risings of 1549 appeared to Parkyn simply concerted "for maintenance of Christ church with other highe grett weightie matteres aganst heretikes in the sowthe and such as wolde nott have Kynge Henrie the 8 testamentt and last will perfowrmyde."⁵ Protector Somerset, "a veray heretic & tratowr to God,"⁶ an "unnaturall man" who "conspiride the Kynges majestie his deathe beyng as then butt 13 years of aigge,"⁷ seemed scarcely to be distinguished from his successor Northumberland.⁸ Parkyn had no doubt that the latter was "culpable and fawttie of Kynge Edwards his deathe"⁹ and recounts the symptoms and rumours in vivid detail:

"In the saide monethe of May the King's Majestie, vz. Edwarde the Sixtt began to be sore seake, in so myche thatt bothe heare of his heade, and naylles of his fyngers and feyett wentt off, and his eares so sore cancride thatt pittie itt was to see, the cawsse wheroff was thurgh poosonyng, as the common voce was spredde abroad amonge people,¹⁰ and so he continewyde withe grett pean unto middsomer after."¹¹

¹ Bodleian MS. Lat. th. d. 15, fos. 133v-141v. Many particulars regarding Parkyn and his literary work are given in *Church Quarterly Rev.*, July, 1937, pp. 226-31.

² Fo. 135.

³ Fo. 137v.

⁴ Cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lii, 438.

⁵ Fo. 135v.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ Fo. 136.

⁸ He classes them together as "two cruell tirauntes and enemies to God and holly churche" (fo. 136v)

and "two fals heretikes and tratowres to God & this realme" (fo. 137). The writer Sherbrook, representing the survival of this dark view of the leading politicians of Edward VI's reign, depicts them as quarrelling over their spoils from the church and hastening the death of the young king (B.M. Add. MS. 5813, fo. 27v).

⁹ Fo. 139v.

¹⁰ Cf. Maehyn's *Diary*, Camden Soc., first series, xlii, 35; *Greyfriars Chronicle*, *ibid.*, liii, 78.

¹¹ Fo. 138v.

During the last months of the reign these sinister rumours regarding the dying king and his ministers were in all probability widely current in Yorkshire. On November 13, 1552, the Privy Council ordered the punishment of six offenders brought up from various parts of the country. Amongst them a certain John Burgh was sentenced "to stand upon the pillorie there [in Westminster] the same day and to have his eare nayled to the same, and then to be delyvered to the Sheryf of Yorkeshier to suffer lyke punisshe-ment at Richemonde." The prisoners were "at the tyme of theyr punishment to have these woordes:—'Movers of Sedition and Spreaders of Falce Rumores' set upon theyr backes or other part where it may be best sene and red, written in paper with great lettres." The Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to deliver Burgh to the Warden of the Fleet for punishment, while Lord Conyers was detailed to convey him subsequently to Richmond "for thintent before rehersed."¹ He was probably a mere scape-goat for many similar offenders in Yorkshire,² and it seems a fair deduction from negative evidence that such punishments were but rarely meted out. The normal experience of the malcontent is exemplified neither by Dr. Vavasour nor by John Burgh, but by our commentator Robert Parkyn, who concealed his repugnance sufficiently to remain curate of Adwick-le-Street until his death in 1570³ and thus worthily represented the popular attitude in general and the gradually acquired caution of the parish clergy in particular.⁴

If open resistance and governmental persecution thus proved the exception rather than the rule, there remained one region of the shire where the simmer of discontent actually burst into rebellion. The Yorkshire rising of 1549 seems to have had no repercussions outside a small area to the north of the wolds, along the bounds of the North and East Ridings—an area roughly limited inland by East Heselton and Wintringham, and near the coast by Seamer and Hunmanby. That the rising should nevertheless be regarded as something more than an insignificant riot is indicated by various facts. It was contemporaneous, and intended to unite,

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1552-4, pp. 168-9.

² Burgh was clearly a native of Richmond, where the surname occurs fairly frequently.

³ His interesting will is in the York Probate Registry, vol. xix, fo. 54v.

⁴ The problem regarding continuity of personnel amongst the parish clergy during these years has not yet been adequately dealt with, but it may be asserted without fear of

contradiction that few clergy, apart from incumbents of the dissolved foundations, were displaced by the Edwardian changes. In Yorkshire, the many printed catalogues of parish incumbents; such surveys as those printed in *Y.A.J.*, xiv, 394 *seqq.*; and the evidence of the York registers so far as it exists (*cf.* W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, pp. 50, 217), all point in this direction.

with the revolts in East Anglia and the West¹; it probably lasted for some weeks before being totally suppressed,² and several thousand rebels, possibly as many as ten thousand, were assembled together.³

A passage in Foxe's *Actes and Monumentes* seems to be the source of all other extant narratives of the rising. It first appeared in the second edition—that of 1570⁴—and was embodied almost word for word in Holinshed's first *Chronicles* of 1577.⁵ In the second edition of Holinshed (1587) the editors added a reflective passage on the king's offer of pardon but made no factual additions.⁶ Stow has no mention of the rising in his *Summarie* of 1565 and gives an abbreviated account, from either Foxe or Holinshed, in his *Chronicles* of 1580.⁷ The contemporary Londoners like Wriothesley⁸ and the continuator of the *Greyfriar's Chronicle*⁹ have no specific mention of a Yorkshire rising. It seems at first sight much stranger that Robert Parkyn, who has so much to say on the East Anglian rising,¹⁰ should also pay no attention to the contemporary disturbances in his own shire.¹¹ Yet we should recall that Adwick-le-Street, while situated on the main road from the south, remained comparatively remote from the region north of the wolds. While Parkyn doubtless heard of the Seamer rising, it would not impress itself deeply on him as a local event.¹² On the other hand, a brief but independent and important notice, tending to stress the serious nature of the rising, occurs in the apology made by Archbishop Holgate to the Marian government.¹³ Again, Sir Thomas Gargrave, the famous Vice-President of the Council in the North, later cited the suppression of the rising as an argument in favour of the maintenance of that Council.¹⁴

¹ The date July–Sept., 1549, is of first-rate importance; Y.C.S., i, p. xvi, curiously gives 1548 and is followed by the *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks., North Riding*, ii, 485.

² How soon after the leaders' consultation of July 25 the actual rising began is not made clear by Foxe, but he suggests that the rising was in progress for some time before and after the king's offer of pardon on August 21. The leaders may have been captured some considerable time before their execution on Sept. 21.

³ Cf. below, p. 166, note 5.

⁴ Vol. ii, pp. 1500–1. Regarding Foxe's possible sources, cf. below, p. 168, note 2.

⁵ Pp. 1675–7.

⁶ Vol. iii, pp. 1040–1; cf. below, p. 167, note 2.

⁷ Pp. 1042–3.

⁸ Camden Soc., second series, xx.

⁹ *Ibid.*, first series, liii.

¹⁰ Fos. 135v–136.

¹¹ He merely says (fo. 135v) that "in the moneth of Julii was many mo shyers rasside upp for maintenance of Christ church," etc.

¹² He recalls *per contra* the gathering of the Pilgrims of Grace on Scawsby Lees near his home (fo. 133v).

¹³ Publ. Rec. Off., S.P. 11, 6, fos. 133–6; cf. below, p. 166, note 5, and p. 168, note 1.

¹⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom., Addenda*, 1566–79, p. 52.

Under these circumstances it has seemed advisable to present the story by reprinting, with annotations, the passage from Foxe. One important aspect, the causes of the rising, would, however, seem to demand brief independent treatment.

It will be observed that Foxe, whose attitude to the reactionary northerner is inevitably hostile and contemptuous, ascribes the rising to two factors: the Yorkshiremen's hatred of "the kinges most godly procedinges, in advauncing and reforming the true honor of God, and his religion," and "a blind and phantasticall prophecie" to the effect that king, nobles and gentry should be swept away in favour of four governors supported by a parliament of the commons. This end was to be attained by risings beginning at the south and north seas of England, the Yorkshiremen taking the Devonshire revolt, already begun, as the prophesied southern rising.

It would be rash to question Foxe's account as far as it goes. Distaste for the new English service was a powerful incentive to revolt in the West,¹ while the magnetic influence upon the popular mind of those dark prophecies, so often prominent in Tudor rebellions,² should not be underestimated. Nevertheless more material incitements to revolt were not lacking. Foxe hints that poverty prepared the way for the agitators, and it is not unlikely that the latter, as in Devon and Cornwall,³ canalized economic discontents into religious and political channels. The notorious Sir John Yorke, against whose oppressions in the Liberty of Whitby Strand his tenants made such vigorous protest four years later,⁴ may well have had his counterparts a few miles further south. Having as yet, however, encountered no clear instances to this latter effect, we are inclined to search still further for our causes, and in particular to the effects of the Chantry Act. The local foundations dissolved by the latter appear to have been unusually numerous for such an area, and it seems certain that the rebels in Yorkshire had good reason to share the opinions of those in the West Country⁵ regarding the policy of dissolution.

There were two chantries in the castle at Seamer,⁶ three at

¹ Cf. the articles of the rebels printed and discussed in F. Rose-Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549*, ch. xiv.

² Cf. M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, index, s. v. "prophecies"; F. W. Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, pp. 142-3.

³ Cf. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, pp. 239-40.

⁴ *Select Cases in the Court of Requests*, Selden Soc., xii, 198-201.

⁵ Cf. Rose-Troup, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

⁶ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (below cited as *V. E.*), v, 125-6; *Y.C.S.*, p. 515.

Scarborough,¹ and others at Osgodby,² Kilham,³ Burton Agnes⁴ and Harpham.⁵ At Lowthorpe the collegiate church with its many chantries fell under the act,⁶ while in the south corner of the Dickering Deanery, farther from our district, were several other chantries.⁷ Across the Derwent, there were two chantries and a guild at Pickering⁸ and chantries at Wykeham,⁹ Brompton,¹⁰ Appleton-le-Street¹¹ and Kirkby Misperton.¹² At New Malton the chapel of St. Michael, a mile distant from the parish church, had already before the Edwardian survey lost a part of its landed endowment¹³; it contained a chantry¹⁴ and a service.¹⁵ The parish of Malton also had a service in the chapel of St. Leonard, three-quarters of a mile from the parish church,¹⁶ and a chantry in the castle, which served some of the inhabitants in place of the parish church a mile away.¹⁷ Six miles south of Wintringham was Towthorpe, in the parish of Wharram Percy, with its chapel serving thirty people and over two miles distant from the parish church.¹⁸ At the centre of the revolt was the chapel of Ayton, a mile distant from the parish church: the inhabitants for many years subsequent to the dissolution thought it worth while to maintain their chapel by a self-imposed rate.¹⁹ Altogether there seems little doubt that for many local people the

¹ *Y.C.S.*, pp. 137, 514; 135, 513; 138, 513. The *V. E.*, v, 124–5, mentions only two; a fourth chantry had been alienated in 25 Hen. VIII by a descendant of the founder (*Y.C.S.*, p. 139).

² *V. E.*, v, 125. Though the Chantry Surveys are tolerably complete for the North Riding, they do not include this chantry, which may not have survived until the Edwardian dissolution.

³ *V. E.*, v, 123; *Y.C.S.*, p. 139: it is said to be a thousand feet from the parish church.

⁴ *V. E.*, v, 124; *cf.* the reference in *Y.C.S.*, p. 554; but this chantry does not occur in the Chantry Surveys.

⁵ *V. E.*, v, 124; the Chantry Surveys do not include it, but they are fragmentary for the East Riding.

⁶ *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii, 365, and in addition *V. E.*, v, 126. The collegiate church was dissolved sometime before 1552 (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 85).

⁷ The chantry at Buckton, mentioned in *V. E.*, v, 121, as maintained by Bridlington Priory, had presumably disappeared with the latter. It does not occur in *Y.C.S.*

⁸ *V. E.*, v, 144–5; *Y.C.S.*, pp. 57–8, 511,

⁹ *V. E.*, v, 145; also absent from the Chantry Surveys.

¹⁰ *V. E.*, v, 145; *Y.C.S.*, p. 128. The duty of the incumbent is “to helpe the vicare, when necessitie shall requier, for because there be wythyn the parysshe of howselyng people to the nombre of xx score and above.”

¹¹ *Y.C.S.*, pp. 129, 509.

¹² *V. E.*, v, 145; *Y.C.S.*, pp. 128–9 (an interesting note on its function), 515–6.

¹³ *Y.C.S.*, pp. 510–11.

¹⁴ *V. E.*, v, 144; *Y.C.S.*, pp. 131, 510. The priest was bound to maintain one arch of Malton Bridge.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 512.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 511.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 511. The loss of these chapels must have occasioned much inconvenience in a scattered parish of 900 communicants (*Ibid.*, p. 510).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, i, p. xv. Free chapels and chantries which performed the same function were numerous in Yorkshire. It is hoped in the future to discuss the question of their dissolution as a whole.

dissolution would entail not merely a sense of loss but material inconvenience. To palliate this the government did little or nothing. The commissioners appointed in June, 1548, to consider which foundations should be continued, went so far as to recommend that one of the Scarborough chantry priests should be engaged to assist in the cure at a salary of 13s. 4d. per annum,¹ and again, that the grammar school maintained by the Lady Guild funds at Pickering should be continued.² Otherwise they appear to have neglected the district. With these facts in mind we are hence unable to agree with Foxe that the rebels were "without cause or quarell" when they turned their wrath against Matthew White, the important chantry commissioner and speculator in chantry lands, and his associates.

Before turning to the text of Foxe, another factor which may well have affected local opinion should be noticed for what it is worth. The extreme importance of the Percy interest amongst the causes of the Pilgrimage of Grace has already been ably demonstrated.³ The Percys had long possessed a house at Seamer, and Sir Thomas Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, regarded by contemporaries as "the lock, key and wards" of the movement of 1536,⁴ is described as of Seamer at the time of his trial and attainder.⁵ The manors of Hunmanby and Seamer, with East Ayton and Irton, had been granted by the Percys to the Crown in 1537,⁶ but the circumstances of the transfer probably augmented rather than diminished the people's "olde good wyll, so depe grafted in ther harts, to their nobles and gentlemen."⁷

These brief observations, together with the notes below, will, it is hoped, conduce to a correct interpretation of the following passage from Foxe.

An other rebellion or tumult begon in Yorkshyre.

Moreover, besides these inordinate uprores and insurrections above mencioned, about the latter ende of the sayd moneth of Julye, the same yeare, whych was 1549. an other like sturre or commotion beganne at *Semer*, in the Northriding of Yorkshiere, and continued in the Eastriding of the same, and there ended. The principall

¹ *Ibid.*, i, p. xv.

² *Ibid.*, ii, p. vii. The salary appointed for the master was only £1 15s. per annum.

³ R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, pp. 133-5.

⁴ *Letters and Papers*, xii (1), 369, p. 166.

⁵ Cf. the references in *Vict. Co.*

Hist., Yorks., North Riding, ii, 484, note 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 485-7; *Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period* (Y.A.S., Record Ser., ii), p. 77.

⁷ The phrase used by Sir George Bowes in February, 1570 (Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, p. 179).

The chiefe
styrers of this
rebellion
in the North.

doers and rayzers up whereof was one *W. Ombler* of Eastheslerton yoman: and *Tho. Dale* parish Clarke of *Semer*, with one *Stevenson* of *Semer*, neighbour to *Dale*, and nevyne to *Ombler*.¹ Whych *Stevenson* was a meane or messenger betwene the sayd *Ombler* and *Dale*, being before not acquaynted together, and dwelling .vij. miles one from the other.² Who at last by the travayle of the sayd *Stevenson* and theyr own evill dispositions inclined to ungraciousnes and mischief, knowing before one the others mynde by secrete conference, were brought to talke together on Saint James day,³ an. 1549.

The causes
moving the
Yorkshyre men
to rebellion.

The causes moving them to raise this rebellion, were these: Fyrst & principally their traiterous hartes grudg- ing at the kinges most godly procedinges, in advauncing and reforming the true honor of God, and his religion. An other cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a phantasticall prophecie,⁴ wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophecie shoulde shortlye come to passe, by hering the rebellions of Northfolke, of Devonshiere, and other places.⁵

A blind pro-
-phesie amongst
the Northeren
men.

The tenour of which prophecie, and purpose together of the traitours was, that there shoulde no kynge reigne in England: the noble men, and Gentlemen to be destroyed: And the Realme to be ruled by 4. governours to be elected and appointed by the Commons, holdyng a Parlament in commotion, to begyn at the South and North Seas of England. &c. supposing that this their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Devonshyre

¹ "The principal raisers of this sedition were very inconsiderable fellows to have their names remembered in history" (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 128). I have discovered no details regarding them, or their accomplices named below, beyond those given by Foxe. The surnames, like those of Wright, Peacock, Wetherel and Buttry below, are common in such local parish registers as those of Settrington (Yorks. Par. Reg. Soc., xxxviii; begins 1559). Either Thomas Dale, or John Dale mentioned below, may conceivably, as coming from Seamer, be the Dale who on 18 October, 1536, asked permission from the rebels for the Earl of Northumberland to pass towards

Topcliffe (*Letters and Papers*, xi, p. 555). A Richard Stevenson occurs as churchwarden of Seamer in 1552 (Surtees Soc., xcvi, 31).

² The approximate distance between Seamer and East Heslerton.

³ 25 July.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 160.

⁵ The Devonshire rebellion began about 10 June and the Norfolk rebellion about 7 July. On the contrast between the aims of these two risings cf. F. Rose-Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549*, pp. 223, seqq. The Yorkshiremen had much in common with Devon, very little with Norfolk, but like Parkyn (cf. above, p. 157) would not make the distinction.

men in the West, meeting (as they entended) at one place, to be the meane how to compasse this their traiterous devilishe devise.

The devise of the rebels how to compasse their purpose.

And therefore laying their studies together, how they might find out more company to ioyne with them in that detestable purpose, and to set forward the sturre, this devise they framed, to sturre in two places, the one distante vij. myles from the other,¹ and at the first rushe to kill and destroy such Gentlemen & men of substaunce about them, as were favourers of the kynges procedynges, or which woulde resiste them. But first of all, for the more spedy raising of men, they devised to burne Beacons, and therby to bryng the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea coastes,² and having the ignorant people assembled, then to poure out their poyson: first beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with povertie, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoyle of rich mens goods, blowing into their heades, that Gods service was layd aside, and new inventions neither good nor godly put in place, and so feedyng them with fayre promises to reduce into the church agayn their old ignoraunce and Idolatry, thought by that meanes soonest to allure them to rage and runne with them in this commotion. And furthermore to the intent they would geve the more terrour to the Gentlemen at their first rysing, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murdered in churches, some in their houses, some in servying the kyng in Commission, & other as they might be caught, and to pyke quarells to them by alteration of service on the holy dayes.³ And thus was the platteforme⁴ cast of their devise, accordyng as afterward by their confession at their examinations was testified, and remaineth in true recorde.

False lyes forged of Gods true religion.

Thus they beyng together agreed, *Ombler & Dale*, and others by their secrete appoyntement, so laboured

¹ Seamer and East Heslerton are possibly again intended.

² The usual method of raising the country and employed in other risings such as the Pilgrimage of Grace (*Cf. Dodds, op. cit., index, s. v. "beacons"*).

³ On these changes in the rite of 1549 see F. E. Brightman, *The*

English Rite, i, pp. xciii, *seqq.* The Western rebels specifically complain against such alterations in at least one set of articles (*F. Rose-Troup, op. cit., p. 220*).

⁴ Commonly used by Tudor writers on political and ecclesiastical affairs to mean "scheme," "plan of action," *Cf. New Eng. Dict.*

The conspiracie of the rebels uttered in dronkennes.

the matter in the parishe of Semer, Wintringham,¹ and the townes about, that they were infected with the poyson of this confederacie, in such sorte, that it was easie to understand wherunto they would incline if a comotion were begon. The accomplishment wherof did shortly folow. For although by the wordes of one dronken fellow of that conspiracie named *Calverd*, at the alehouse in Wintringham some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smelled before by the Lord President² and Gentlemen of those parties, and so prevented in that place where the rebelles thought to begin: yet they gave not over so, but drewe to an other place at Semer by the Sea coast, and there by night rode to the Beacon at Staxton,³ and set it on fire: and so gatherying together a rude route of raskals out of the townes nere about beyng on a sturre, *Ombler*, *Tho. Dale*, *Barton*, and *Rob. Dale* hasted forthwith with the rebelles to *M. Whites*⁴ house to take him, who notwithstanding beyng on horsebacke, myndyng to have escaped their handes, *Dale*, *Ombler*, and the rest of the rebels tooke him and

¹ In the East Riding and nearly twelve miles from Seamer.

² Archbishop Holgate, Lord President of the Council in the North from June, 1538, to February, 1550 (R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 487).

³ The beacon on the wold above Staxton would be only about four miles from Seamer.

⁴ Matthew White, a chantry commissioner for Yorkshire (*Cal. Pat.*, *Edw. VI*, ii, 136; *Y.C.S.*, p. 371), and acted as surveyor and custodian of chantry goods (*Ibid.*, p. 519; *cf.* *Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 112, 113, 114, 120). On 26 October, 1548, the York corporation agreed "that Mr White one of the kinges commysioners for York shall have in reward for his paynes takyn for makyng a coppy of the chauntre landes of this said citie (iiiijth *eras.*) vth" (York House Book, xix, fo. 35v). On 18 December a note is made of his enquiries regarding a York guild of St. Anthony, which did not exist (*ibid.*, fo. 44v). On 7 July, 1549, he and Edward Bury (*cf.* p. 166, note 3 below) received for £1,294 4s. 2½d. a large grant of chantry properties, mainly messuages in York, but comprising lands given for lamps,

lights and anniversaries in many Yorkshire churches, including Ayton (*Cal. Pat.*, *Edw. VI*, iii, 148-54). He had seized chantry goods at Ayton and Seamer before his death (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 114). White's will, proved in 1550 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, describes him as of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great and of Crayford, Kent, noting his death in the diocese of York (*Index Library*, xi, 569). His widow Dorothy was given special permission to retain chantry goods not exceeding sixty pounds in value (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 114 (note)). For particulars regarding his earlier life *cf.* *Letters and Papers of Hen. VIII*, xxviii (1), pp. 449, 558; xix (1), p. 506; xix (2), p. 354; xx (1), p. 679; xxi (1), pp. 769, 772. He does not appear to be connected with the famous Hampshire and London family of that name (W. Berry, *County Genealogies of Hants.*, p. 295), but he is often described as "gentleman" (*Y.C.S.*, p. 371; *Cal. Pat.*, *Edw. VI*, iii, 148; Hasted, *Kent*, i, 270, 517). He may be the Matthew White who took his B.A. at Cambridge in 1534 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

Foure men
cruelly
murdered
by the re-
bels in the
North

Clopton his wives brother,¹ one *Savage* a Marchaunt of *Yorke*,² and one *Bery*³ servaunt to Syr *Walter Myldmay*,⁴ which iiij without cause or quarell, savyng to fulfill their seditious Prophecie in some part, and to give a terrour to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murdered after they had caryed them one myle from *Semer* towardes the *Wolde*, and there after they had strypped them of their clothes and purses, left them naked behynd them in the playne fieldes for crowes to feede on, untill *Whytes* wife, and *Savages* wife then at *Semer* caused them to be buried.

The rebels
in Yorke-
shyre ga-
thered to
iiij. thousand
per-sons.

Longe it were and tedious to recite what revell these rebelles kepte in their raging madnes, who raunging about the countrey from towne to towne to enlarge their ungratious and rebellious bande, takyng those wyth force which were not willyng to go, and leaving in no towne where they came, any man above the age of .xvj. yeares, so encreased thys number, that in short tyme they had gathered .iiij. thousand⁵ to favour their wicked

¹ The present writer has not identified him with any certainty amongst the many families of the name.

² Taken by Drake (*op. cit.*, p. 128; *cf.* p. 364) to be Richard Savage, sheriff of York in 1540. This, however, seems to be the Richard Savage mentioned three times, lastly in 28 Hen. VIII, in the register of York freemen as parish clerk and chamberlain (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 235, 254, 255), and whose will was proved on August 6, 1544 (*Y.A.S.*, Record Series, xi, 153). This Richard's son, William Savage, was admitted to the freedom of York in 26 Hen. VIII as a merchant (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 254), and the will of William Savage, merchant, of York, was proved on February 3, 1549, 50 (*Y.A.S.*, Record Series, xi, 234). Everything thus points to the fact that the son William was the victim of the rebels. The mention of William Savage in the Patent Roll for December, 1549 (*Cal. Pat.*, *Edw. VI*, iii, 88), as holding a tenure in York may be either a reference to another person, or an anachronistic reference to our William Savage, who died some months earlier.

³ Not, of course, the Edward Bury of Eastwood and Rayleigh, who was

associated with White in purchases of chantry lands and who died in 1582 (*Cal. Pat.*, *Edw. VI*, i, 212; iii, 148; P. Morant, *Essex*, i, 221).

⁴ *D.N.B.* One of the commissioners for the sale of chantry lands (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1547–50, p. 186), and also instructed to recommend which foundations should be continued (*Y.C.S.*, i, p. xiv; ii, p. vii). He had a town house in Matthew White's parish, St. Bartholomew the Great, and his elaborate monument is preserved in the church.

⁵ Archbishop Holgate in his apology speaks of "another [commotion] at Seimer in Yorkeshier in Kinge Edwarde the Syxte tyme, whereas was tenne or twelve thowsand rebelles up at the same tyme the commocions was in Northfolke, Deaneshier, Cornewell and other placeis in manye partes of this realme" (*Publ. Rec. Off.*, S.P. 11. 6, fo. 134). Holgate, who repressed the rising, admittedly had a motive for exaggerating its extent. On the other hand, his facts throughout are substantially accurate and his statements on matters of this kind could easily have been checked at the time of writing. His estimate is thus at least as acceptable as the second- or third-hand estimate of Foxe.

attempes, and had like to have gathered moe, had not the Lordes goodnes through prudent circumspection have interrupted the course of theyr furious beginning.

The kings
free pardon
sent to the
rebelles

Ombler
refused the
kings par-
don.

For fyrst came the Kings gracious and free pardon discharging and pardoning them, and the rest of the rebels of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Maiesty, before the xxj. of August, an. 1549.¹ Which pardon although *Ombler* contemptuously refused, persisting styll in his wyfull obstinacie, diswadyng also the rest from the humble accepting the kings so loving and liberall pardon, yet notwithstanding wyth some it dyd good.²

Ombler
captaine of
the rebells
taken.

To make short, it was not long after this, but *Ombler*, as he was riding from towne to towne .xij. myles from *Hunmanby*, to charge all the Cunstables³ and inhabitants where he came, in the kinges name to resort to *Hunmanby*, by the way he was espyed, and by the circum-spect diligence of *John Worde* the yonger,⁴ *James Aslabye*,⁵ *Rafe Thwinge*,⁶ and *Thomas Constable*⁷

¹ No text of this pardon appears to have survived. For a list of extant proclamations connected with the risings of 1549 see R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, pp. 36–8. The Yorkshire pardon could scarcely have been a mere re-issue of the proclamation of 12 July, as suggested in Cattley's edition of Foxe, v, 740 (note), since this proclamation was not a pardon, but subsequent to the issue of a pardon.

² Holinshed (edn. 1587, iii, 1041) continues hence: "who of likelihood submitted themselves, assuredlie believing if they persevered in their enterprise, there was no way with them but one, namelie deserved death, wherewith there was no dispensing after the contempt of the princes pardon and refusall of his mercie; so that in this heavie case they might verie well complaine and saie:

Funditus occidimus, nec habet fortuna regressum. Virgil.

To make short," etc.

³ Cf. a proclamation of the previous July, forbidding constables to assemble subjects for any unlawful purpose (Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 38, no. 363).

⁴ Cf. J. Foster, *Visitations of Yorkshire, 1584–5 and 1612*, p. 124: Wood of West Lutton and Kilnwick. There

are four Johns in direct line. This is probably John Wood of West Lutton and Thorpe near Rudston.

⁵ Apparently a reference to some member of the family of South Dalton. If James, the father of the well-known Francis Aslaby, was living in 1549, he must have been elderly. James, the third son of Francis, is impossible, as his elder brother was aged only 21 in 1558 (*cf.* Surtees Soc., cxxii, 3).

⁶ The various branches of the family appear to contain no Ralph between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, though members of the family resided at East Heslerton (J. Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 261, 370, 408, 581; Ord, *Cleveland*, p. 269; *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks., N.R.*, ii, 139–42, 396; Y.A.S., Record Series, xi, 179).

⁷ At least three Thomas Constables were living about this time. The present reference is probably to the younger brother of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough (*cf.* J. Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*; also *Visitations of Yorkshire, 1584–5 and 1612*, p. 306). None of these four gentlemen mentioned by Holinshed was on the Yorkshire commission of the peace issued in May, 1547 (*Cal. Pat., Edw. VI*, i, 91–2).

gentlemen, he was had in chace, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custodie unto the citie of Yorke to aunswere to hys demerites.

The names of the rebels taken and executed at Yorke.

Ex actis iudiciariis registro exceptis & notatis.

After whom within short time *Thomas Dale, Henry Barton*, the fyrst chieftaines and ringleaders of the former commotion, with *John Dale, Robert Wright, W. Peycocke, Wetherell*, and *Edmund Buttrye*, busye sturrers in thys sedition, as they travailed from place to place to draw people to their faction were likewyse apprehended, committed to warde, lawfully convicted, and lastly executed at Yorke the .xxj. of September, an. 1549.¹ *Ex actis iudicij publici registro exceptis & notatis.*²

The one movement of rebellion thus collapsed ignominiously, failing to engage a large area in the North and hence to link up with the more formidable popular movements in Devon and East Anglia. For this failure conditions in the North itself were largely responsible, for there the position had undergone profound changes since the great revolt of 1536. The government, it is true, had not scrupled after 1547 to aggrieve the people by fresh burdens and confiscations, yet the power of northern society to react had been vastly curtailed. During the later years of Henry VIII seigniorial rights had been gathered into the hands of the Crown and the prestige of the Percys materially abased. More important still, a northern Council had been established as the rallying-point of loyalty and order. Using the weapons of self-interest and fear, it had converted the ruling classes into partners or accomplices of the Crown. When the people were deprived of their natural

¹ Archbishop Holgate's apology (fo. 134) speaks of "the other commocion at Semer staide with executinge of eight parsons without anye charge to the Kinge or losse to the countreye." It will be seen that the number agrees with that given by Foxe. Stevenson of Seamer, though deeply involved in the early stages, may have claimed the pardon in time. The offenders would normally be tried and condemned by a special commission of oyer and terminer.

² A reference of uncertain bearing; Foxe again speaks somewhat vaguely regarding the rebels' "confession at their examinations" which "remaineth in true recorde." On the other hand, Foxe often referred to official documents and cites them at length

in such passages as his elaborate accounts of the proceedings against Bonner and Gardiner. Though by this date justices of oyer and terminer had abandoned the regular practice of sending their records to the Treasury of the Exchequer (Giuseppi, *Guide to the Public Records*, i, 236), many documents concerning the trials of East Anglian and western rebels of 1549 are preserved in the Publ. Rec. Off. Baga de Secretis (*D. K. Rep.*, iv, App. ii, pp. 213, 217-19). No judicial records of the Yorkshire rebellion appear, however, to be preserved. Many of the particulars given by Foxe might come from indictments similar to those found against the Ketts and printed in F. W. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-6.

leaders, their feudal habit of mind became a positive handicap to successful revolt; where D'Arcy and Aske had failed to maintain concerted resistance, leaders sprung from the populace were unlikely to succeed. For these reasons Edward VI's ministers, hampered by widespread rebellion, with less statesmanlike motives than Henry VIII and none of his hold on the southern imagination, nevertheless succeeded in forcing upon the unprepared mind of the North a series of confiscations detested with good reason by its people. But fragmentary and scattered as the extant records are, they strongly suggest that popular resentment, though partially checked by memories of 1537 and by the lure of private gain, was again on the rise. The history of conservative reaction in Yorkshire has few and narrow gaps between the pilgrims of 1536 and the recusants of Elizabeth's later years.

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY INVENTORIES.

By E. W. CROSSLEY, F.S.A.

PREFACE.

From the earliest times to which the records go back, in addition to the testator's will it was necessary for the executors to return into the court of probate an inventory, with a valuation, of the deceased's goods and chattels, and also a list of his debts, both inward and outward.¹ There was the same obligation upon an administrator of an intestate's estate. The inventories were drawn up within a very short time after death, usually within three or four days. The document, which was written on paper, was signed by the valuers, generally four in number. Sometimes the articles were valued separately, but especially when they were numerous, as in the two inventories here printed, several were taken together. They included not only personal and household effects, but also farm stock and corn growing in the fields. The inventories give a good idea of the position and wealth of the deceased, of the size and general arrangement of the house in which he lived, of the degree of comfort and mode of life, etc.

In both cases all sorts of rooms and places were utilised for sleeping accommodation. There is no doubt it was necessary in a number of instances to go through one bedroom in order to enter another, due to the absence of corridors. Examples of this inconvenience are still to be found in old-fashioned houses. Each of the chief mansions, Stockeld and Ripley, as well as Deighton, a secondary house of the Ingilbys, once had a chapel, no doubt dating back to pre-Reformation days, the use of which, as such, was abandoned when attendance at the parish church was compulsory. The one at Stockeld, called the "chappell parler," was used as a sleeping apartment; that at Ripley, still called the "chappell," as a lumber room; the one at Deighton, also called the "chappell," for much the same purpose as that at Ripley.

¹ In the case of Sir William Ingilby a list of debts, both inward and outward, drawn up by Sir Peter Middleton on 4 March 1617, has been preserved. The debts inward, including "in redy money and goulde £833 14s. 6d.," "Mr Xpoffer Danby doth owe us for wch. wee have Swynton in morgage £2300," "My master's goodes proceed will amount unto £1450," totalled £5578 17s. 10d.

The debts outward, including "Sir William Craven of London, £520," "Mr. Jolin Hodshon of London £220," and "Mr. William Normavell c

his mooother £660," amounted to £1528 6s. The legacies left by will in cash, including "My lady Anne two daughters £1166 13s. 4d.," "4 of Mr. Sampson Ingilbyes daughters £800," "funerell expences donne and to be donne £80" came to £3261 10s. 8d. These two last totals came to £4789 16s. 8d., which, deducted from £5578 17s. 10d., left a net sum of £789 1s. 2d., after payment of all his debts, legacies and funeral expenses. There were, however, very considerable landed estates.

In both inventories there were omissions which were included later on. This seems clear from a room being entered a second time, and in Sir William Ingilby's case it is specifically mentioned, "forgotten before,"¹ "forgotten att Ripley."² In the case of Sir William Ingilby's inventory the goods and chattels bequeathed as legacies are included, but not valued.³ There is, however, a separate list of them, with a valuation and the names of the persons to whom they were left.⁴ The inventories contain a good many words which are now obsolete, some of which were peculiar to Yorkshire and the northern counties. The variations of spelling are more numerous than usual.

William Middleton, described as an esquire, was a member of the family of Middleton of Stockeld, in the parish of Spofforth, and a man of some means. His will was dated 16 April 1614. He was buried at Spofforth on the 28th of the same month. The inventory was dated on the 5th of May following, the will being proved at York 9 March 1615-16. He was the eldest son of John Middleton of Stockeld, by Isabell, dau. of John Midleton of Midleton Hall in Lonsdale. William married (1) Marie, dau. of Edmund Eltofts, of Farnhill, and (2) Anna, dau. of John Towneley of Towneley, co. Lanc.⁵

Sir William Ingilby, knt., was possessed of considerable wealth. His will was dated 29 Dec. 1617. He died 5 Jan. 1617 and was buried at Ripley. The inventory was made on 19 Feb. and the will proved at York 6 Aug. 1618. He was the eldest son of Sir William Ingilby of Ripley, treasurer of the town of Berwick, by his wife Anne, dau. of William Malory of Studley. Sir William, the son, married twice, his first wife was Anne, dau. of Thomas Thwaytes, of Marston, co. York, his second Catherine, dau. of Anthony Smetheley of Brantingham, co. York. He had no issue by either wife.⁶

REFERENCES.

- Halliwell—*A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, 5th ed.
N.E.D.—*A New English Dictionary*, ed. by James A. H. Murray.
 Wright—*English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. by Joseph Wright, 1898-1905.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF WILLIAM MIDDLETON
 OF STOCKELD, Esq. [fol. 1

A true and perfect Inventory indented taken and made of the goods & chattells of William Middleton late of Stockeld in the county of Yorke, esq., deceased, this vth day of Maij 1614, vewed and praysed by these fower men, vidz, Nicholas Townley, and

¹ Page 196.

² Page 202.

³ Pages 184, 192, 193, 199.

⁴ Pages 202-3.

⁵ *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, J. W. Clay's ed., ii, 171.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 350.

Rychard Paver, esquyr, and Abraham Coulthurst & William Lowson, gent.,

First in the great halle.

Three tables, j cobbard, v forms, ii loose boardes, v horsmen staves——iiij^{li} xij^s

The lower dyning parler—one table, ij formes, j liverey cobarde,¹ vj stooles, j skrine²——xl^s

j neeld³ wrought chear, iiij set quyshons,⁴ vj tapestry quyshons, j pare of tables, j fyre sholve, j pare of tonges——xxxij^s iiij^d

one fither bed, j boulster, ij coverletts, j blankett, j pare of sheets——xlvi^s viij^d

The hye dynning chamber—one long foulding table, j square table, j cobbard——iiij^{li} x^s

j neeld wrought chear, ij neldwork stooles, j chear covered wth gren cloth, j greene velvett stole, iiij formes covered wth green cloth, j green carpet⁵ wth silk fring for the long table, one greene carpet with silk fring for y^e square table, i green cobert cloth wth silk fring, iiij mapps in frames——xiii^{li} x^s

i ould green carpett cloth for y^e long table, j tapestry covering for same table, j pare of tongs, j fyre sholve——xl^s

Grandome chamber—one bed steed wth sarsnet⁶ covering & v curtens, j downe bedde, j boulster, ij pillowes, j pillow bear,⁷ j mattris, iiij blanketts, j green rugg, i pare of sheets——xv^{li}

j table, j green velvet chear, j stole, j nild worke quishon, j ould green carpett, j curten rodde, and iiij grene curtens of sea⁸ for the wyndow, j pare tongs, j pare of bellowes, i fyre sholve——xlvi^s viij^d

In the inner chamber—ij mappes, j matt for the floore, one bed stead, j fither bed, j boulster, ij blankets, j coverlet, j covering of tapestry, j pare of sheets, j closse stoole——iiij^{li}

Suma—50^{li} 18^s 8^d

[fol. 2

The greene chamber—one bedsteed wth covering & curtens of stript⁹

¹ Livery-cupboard—an open cupboard with shelves, in which the liveries intended for distribution were placed (Halliwell's *Dict. of Archaic Words*).

² Skrine — an obsolete form of Screen (*N.E.D.*).

³ Needle.

⁴ Cushions.

⁵ Carpet—a thick fabric, commonly of wool, for covering a table (*N.E.D.*).

⁶ Sarsnet—sarsenet, a fine and soft silk material made both plain and twilled, now used chiefly for linings (*N.E.D.*).

⁷ Pillow-case (*N.E.D.*).

⁸ Sea—say, a cloth of fine texture resembling serge; in the sixteenth century sometimes partly of silk, subsequently entirely of wool (*N.E.D.*).

⁹ Striped.

stuff, j fither bed, j boulder, j yellow rugge, iij blankets, j coverlet, j pare of sheetes——x^{li}
 j litle table, j green cloth covering to yt, j chear embrodred upon vyolet cloth, ij litle stooles covered alike suteable,¹ ij nild work quishons, j buckrom² curten e rodde for windows, one payr of tongs, i brushe, a floore matt——xl^s

Mr Pullen chamber—one bedsted, covering of Dornix³ and curtens, j fither bed, j boulder, j down pillow e pillowbear, the covering of tapestry, iij blanketts, j pare of sheets——vj^{li} x^s

Servant bed—one chafe bed, j boulder, ij old coverletts, ij blanketts, j pare sheets——xxxiijs^s iiij^d
 j table, j Dornix covering to yt, j chare, ij stooles, j quishon, j curten e rodd for wyndow, j payr of bellows, j payr of tonges, j halberte——xvijs^s

The whyt chamber—ij standing bedds, ij fither bedds, j covering of tapestry, ij coverlets, iiij blanketts, ij payr of sheets, j rugg, i table——vi^{li} xiijs^s iiij^d

New chamber—one bed steed, curtens e teaster⁴ of sea green, j downe bed, j boulder, ij pillowes, j pillow bear, j mattrice, j covering of tapestry, iij blanketts, l payr of sheets——xj^{li} x^s

j table, i chear covered wth vyolet couler cloth, ij litle stools suteable, ij nild wrought quishions, Dornix curten e rodde for ij wyndowes——iijs^{li}

Inner chamber—one floore matt, ij mapps, one trusted bedd steed,⁵ j fither bedd, j boulder, j pillow, j pillowbear, ij blankets, ij coverletts, j covering of tapestry, j pare of sheets, j close stoole——v^{li}

Palled roome—one trunk, j chest of filing, j court stoole——xx^s

Chappell chamber—one bedd steed, j fither bedd, j boulder, ij pillowes, ij pillowbeares, iiij blankets, j coverlet, j covering of tapestry, j pare of sheets, j litle table, j joyne stoole,⁶ j quys-shon, j fyre sholve——v^{li} x^s

The gallery—one doble leaff cobberd, iij trunkes, ij andyorns——xxxiijs^s iiij^d

Gallery over the hall—two trussell beddsteds——xx^s

¹ Matching.

² Buckram—a kind of coarse linen cloth stiffened with gum or paste (*N.E.D.*).

³ Dornix—Dornick, the name of a Flemish town applied to fabrics originally made there (*N.E.D.*).

⁴ Tester—a canopy over a bed (*N.E.D.*).

⁵ A trussing bedstead—one which could be adapted, or packed up for travelling (*N.E.D.*).

⁶ A stool made of parts fitted together, as distinguished from one of clumsy workmanship (*N.E.D.*).

Stoorhouse—xv cople of ling, xix cople of coddfysh—xl^s
 v stone of hempe—xiiij^s, j bag of hopps, 30^s, iiij ston
 of lambe woole, xxviiij^s, j lymbick,¹ 4^s—iiij^{li} xvj^s
 Summa 62^{li} 3^s 0^d

[fo. 3

Scope, 6^s 8^d, j pare of ballans, j pare of way scales,
 4^s—x^s viii^d

Mayds chamber—In the presse ij fither beddticks—v^{li}
 ij pare of blankets—iiij^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d
 i greene sarsnet quilt—l^s
 one long nild work quishon wrought all with silke—40^s, 24
 yerds of greene sea—3^{li}, 1 yerds of dornix—5^{li}, yarne for
 quishons of dyvers colours—10^s, 10 say curtens wth vallens,
 ij sarsnet quyshions, ij taffety² quishons, ij old whyt saten
 quishons—33^s 4^d—xii^{li} iij^s iiij^d
 one bed tester e vallanc, i old remnant of imbrodered velvett—
 xxvi^s viii^d
 one pare of vallanc nild work—xxiiij^s
 one bed tester of green taffety—xxxiii^s iiij^d
 two yerds of grene cloth—xvj^s
 one great presse—xxvj^s viij^d
 iiij bed stocks, j mattrice, j strawbed, ij boulsters, ij blankets,
 j piece of an ould quilt, i pare sheets—xliij^s iiij^d

Low stoorehouse—one litle table, iiij staves, i cradle 8^s, tallow e
 the trunke, 40^s, the 2 stiltes, i heckle,³ i lantern, i stoole,
 i spining wheele, 10^s—lviiij^s

The M^{rs} storehouse—viiij blackfryars glasses 5^s 4^d, candels, 2^s 6^d,
 eggs, 3^s 4^d, salt, 2^s 6^d, iiij old chist, j box, j mawnd,⁴ 7 basketts,
 j tems,⁵ i grater and other litle necessary houslementes,⁶ 10^s,
 hemp yarn and warp, 8^s, i glasse cobert e iiij or 4 boxes 5^s—
 xxxvi^s viij^d

Kichin irne—two payr of yrn racks, j galibake,⁷ 5 crookes,⁸ iiij
 pothucks,⁹ 33^s 4^d, 12 broches,¹⁰ 20^s, v dripping pans, 15^s,

¹ Lymbick, limbeck — a still (Wright).

² Taffety—taffeta, in early times apparently a plain-wove glossy silk; in more recent times a light thin silk or union stuff of decided lustre (N.E.D.).

³ Heckle—an instrument for combing or scratching flax or hemp (N.E.D.).

⁴ A wicker basket with handles (N.E.D.).

⁵ Tems, temse—a sieve (N.E.D.).

⁶ Houslementes, huslements—odds and ends (N.E.D.).

⁷ Galibake, galley bauk—a bar or beam in a chimney on which pot-hooks hang (Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic Words*).

⁸ Crook—a hook in a chimney for hanging a pot or kettle on (N.E.D.).

⁹ Pothook—a hook suspended over a fireplace for hanging a pot or kettle on (N.E.D.).

¹⁰ Broach—a pointed instrument, used for roasting meat upon, a spit (N.E.D.).

ij gridiarns, 3^s, 3 laddles, ij yrne forks, v chopping knyves,
j frying pan, j skimar, vij^s vj^d—iiij^{li} xviijs x^d

Brasse—vj ould pottes, 36^s 8^d, iiij other pottes, j posnett,¹ 4^{li},
ij brazen morters, ij pestells, 13^s 4^d, ij kettels, vij pannes,
j yrn band, j coper caldren, j chofing dysh,² 46^s—viiij^{li} xvjs

Pewter—pewter in waight 8 ston e a halfe—iiiiij^{li} iij^s

vj boards, trests,³ formes, loose boards e j chayr—vij^s

In the evydens gallery—iiiiij saddles e furniture—iiiiij^{li}

Weet larder—ij salting knopps,⁴ j flaskett,⁵ j litle knop, j wood
dubler,⁶ lose bords, i trest—xx^s

Pastry—ij past boards, j chist, j coberd—xiijs iiijd

Brewhouse—ij mash fatts,⁷ j gylkar,⁸ one keeler,⁹ ij flasketts, one
kimmell,¹⁰ j brandereth,¹¹ j racontree,¹² 12 pykeforkshaftes e
other houslements—iiij^{li} iij^s iiijd

Bakehouse—j long tabble, ij long formes, 4 short formes, vj shelffs,
j ston mortar, one swyne tubbe, one soae¹³ e other ymple-
ments—x^s

The boultinge¹⁴ howsse—a kneadinge troughe, a mouldinge plancke,
two sives, a temes, a kimmell, or koppe,¹⁵ a churne—0^{li} 5^s 4^d

The dearie howse—three cheestes, two butter tubbes, a cheesse
troughe, two churnes, vij shelves, two sinckers,¹⁶ viij ches fatts,
a butter kitte¹⁷ e a ashedobleler—1^{li} 8^s

Summa—65^{li} 6^s 10^d

[fol. 4

Milkhouse—one knopp, j cream kitt, xi shelves in a frame, x troughes
or treyes, 30 bowles, j syle,¹⁸ ij tressles, ij skeels,¹⁹ ij kitts—xxjs

Scachers parler—ij bedsteeds with bedding for them—xijs vjd

¹ Posnet—a small metal pot or vessel for boiling, having a handle and three feet (*N.E.D.*).

² Chafing dish—a vessel to hold burning charcoal for heating anything placed upon it (*N.E.D.*).

³ Trests—obs. form of trestles (*N.E.D.*).

⁴ Knop — a large wooden tub (*N.E.D.*).

⁵ A long shallow basket; a similar article made of metal (*N.E.D.*).

⁶ Doubler—a large plate or dish (*N.E.D.*).

⁷ Mash fatt—a mashing vat used in brewing (*N.E.D.*).

⁸ Gylkar, gyleker—a tub or other vessel for holding wort (*N.E.D.*).

⁹ Keeler—a vessel for cooling liquids (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁰ Kimmel—a tub used for brewing, kneading, salting meat, and other household purposes (*N.E.D.*).

¹¹ Brandreth—an iron tripod fixed over the fire, on which a pot or kettle is placed (*Halliwell*).

¹² Racontree—probably the bar, or other apparatus, from which cooking vessels were suspended over a fire.

¹³ Soc—a large tub (*N.E.D.*). In the parchment copy of the Inventory this word is spelt “Soee,” not “Soae” as in the original.

¹⁴ The place where the grain was bolted or winnowed (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁵ “or knope” in the copy. This is probably correct.

¹⁶ Sinker—a weight for pressing cheese (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁷ Kit—a circular wooden vessel made of hooped staves (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁸ Syle — a sieve, especially for straining milk (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁹ Skeel—a wooden bucket (*N.E.D.*).

Exeblebee parler—ij payr of bedstocks, j bed furnished, j wheele,
j old counter——xviijs^s

The wrightes parler—ij bedsteeds, iiij coverletts, j mattrice, i pare
blankett, j boulster, i pare of sheets——xxxiijs^s iiij^d

Johnsons chamber—ij payr of bedsteds, curtens of sea, j fether
bed, j boulster, j pillow, j pare of sheets, iiij blanketts, j coverlet,
i red rugg, j playn table, j form, j cuyshon——v^{li} iijs^s iiij^d

Robin Yong chamber—j bed steed, j mattrice, j boulster, j blanket,
i payr sheets, ij coverletts, an oulde halfe counter, a winlawes,¹
barrel, and other ymplements——xx^s

The chamber over the stable—j bedsteed, i mattris, ij boulsters,
ij blanketts, j coverlett, j payr of sheets——viijs^s

Chappell parler—ij matrrices, ij bedsteeds, ij boulsters, ij payr
blanketts, iiij coverletts, j counter——lvjs^s viij^d

Old buttery—ij hogsheds, j but, j barrell, iiij shelfes, j cobbard,
ij gawntrees, ij trests——xijs^s

Wyn seller—j glasse seller wth ij glasses, iiij hogesheads, j barrell,
iiij rinletts,² j gantree, j lantern, i glase botell, ij bottells,
j kan——xv^s

Bear seller—x hogesheades, j runlett, ij gantrees, j old flanders
chest, j trunke, 4 shelfes, j fram, ij basketts & some smale
necessaries——xxx^s

Pantry—xxj course dyper napkins, iiij dyper towells, 10^s, iiij fyne
lynnen towells, 10^s, v harden towells, 2^s 6^d, iiij dozons & iiij
napkins, 12^s, vj table clothes xvj yerds & a halfe, 12^s, x pillow-
beares, 10^s, j dyper table cloth, 18^s 3^d, 3 payr of lynnen sheets,
35^s, v payr of fyne holland shetes, xij^{li} x^s, ij payr of sheets,
j odd sheet, ij pillowbears, 26^s 8^d, iiij payr of canvas sheets, 16^s,
iiij table clothes, xl^s, j table-cloth, ij coberd clothes, 10^s,
j table cloth, 17^s, j dyper towell, 4^s, i table cloth for y^e hall, 4^s,
xvij dyper napkins 7^s 1^d, i drinkingcloth, j dozen of course
napkins, 3^s, v towells, 5^s, iiij fyne dyper napkins 2^s 6^d, 7 course
dyper napkins, 3^s 6^d, vi course napkins, j towell, 4^s 6^d, j holland
coberdcloth, 3^s 4^d, ij other coberd clothes, 4^s 4^d, i towell,
ijs^s 6^d, iiij table clothes, 7^s 6^d, i dozen course napkins, 3^s,
ij cobbard clothes v^s viij^d, ij dy[p]ar towells, j napkin 9^s——
xxvj^{li} xviijs^s j^d

Summa 43^{li} 2^s ij^d

[*The original inventory ends here.*]

¹ Windlass.

² Rinlett, runlet—a cask or vessel of varying capacity (N.E.D.).

[col. 3]

nyne pewter candlesticks, 3 brasse candelsticks, 5 beare potts, or flaggins, 3 boules, 2 salts, j skincker, or spoute pott, 2 bassens e ures, 2 hand basens, 2 voyders¹——liiij^s

Playte—xij gilded spunes, xviiij slip silver spunes,² one table bell salte, 7 trencher salts gilte, 2 glaved [*sic*] bouels, 2 liverie cannes³ parcell gilte, 1 doble bell salte whyte, 3 whyte boules, whereof one wth a crowne, j basen e ure parcell gylte——lxxxj^{li} xviiij^s xx drincking glasses, 8 chamber potts——xvj^s vi dosen of round trenchers, 1 dosen of case trenchers e 2 wooden knyves——xii^s

6 wood cannes, 3 bottells, 1 butterie basket——vijs^s

In ye garnors—In the farthest garner xv quarters of rye, in the mydlemost xj quarters of rye e 4 busshels 3 quarters of maslen,⁴ 4 bushell of shilling⁵ e a tubbe, j lead, 12 sholues,⁶ j arke, 5 quarters of wheat e 2 busshels, garthes, ox bowes,⁷ cogges, spindles, wth other huslements——li^{li} xvj^s viij^d

Killhouse⁸—xv^{tine} quarters of malte——xx^{li}

Stable chamber e stable—one playne beddstead, j mattres, j boulster, 2 blankets, 2 coverletts, j payre of sheets, j chist——xv^s

Husbandman's stoore house—5 plowes whereof 2 furnyshed wth iron, 2 harrowes, 3 horse harnishe, 9 teembes, j cheat teeme, 8 yoakes, 2 gavelocks,⁹ 2 hacks,¹⁰ 2 coulter, 2 boulttes e shacles, j hand sawe, j quarter saw, 4 wymbles,¹¹ 7 sickles, 5 freets,¹² e other iron clouts,¹³ one hundreth of iron, j payre of pullis e teygles,¹⁴ 2 hay spayds,¹⁵ j other quarter saw, j iron mawe,¹⁶ 4 axes, j iron rake, a boult e a shacle, 10 muckforks, pitche forks, spaydes, sholues wth other instruments of husbandrye,

¹ Voyder, voider—a basket used for taking away dirty dishes or fragments of broken food at a meal (*N.E.D.*).

² A spoon with a handle cut off obliquely (*N.E.D.*).

³ Livery can—probably a can from which liveries of drink were served out.

⁴ Mixed corn—generally of wheat and rye (*Halliwell*).

⁵ The grain removed from the husk; also the husks of oats, wheat, etc. (*N.E.D.*).

⁶ Shovels.

⁷ The bow of wood that goes around the neck of an ox (*Halliwell*).

⁸ Kilnhouse,

⁹ Gavelock—an iron crowbar or lever (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁰ A tool for breaking or chopping up, possibly of the mattock type (*N.E.D.*).

¹¹ An auger (*N.E.D.*).

¹² Fret—the belt of iron which goes round the nave of a wheel (*S. Cheshire Glossary*).

¹³ Iron clout—a plate of iron, esp. one fixed on some part of a plough or on an axle-tree to prevent wear (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁴ Teygle, teagle—a dial. var. of tackle; a hoisting apparatus (*N.E.D.*).

¹⁵ A sharp heart-shaped spade used for cutting hay (*Halliwell*).

¹⁶ Probably for maul, a massive hammer,

2 load sadles pannelled, ouerleys, wantoes,¹ ox bowes, iron forke shafts, i iron mall, j pitchaxe, 20 stonne wedges——
vj^{li} xvij^s iiij^d

In ye fould—mannor or dung——iiij^{li}

5 fothering rakes, 3 iron bound waynes, j coupe,² i carte——
vij^{li} viij^s iiij^d

In peaze barne—nyne gang of felks,³ 9 axel trees, 5000 lats for playster, 3 dosen of garthes,⁴ 100 of punchcopers, 6 stable plancks, vij other plancks, wth dyvers other old peces of woode or tymber, 3 wayne blaydes, j plough beame, 3 wayne blaydes, the birkes⁵ e other wood on the west syde of pease barne——vj^{li} x^d

Haye barne—2 payre of new wheeles, j oxe harrowe, wyth teeth, 8 mill trunles⁶——xliij^s

Corne barne—one stadle of rye, 2 wyndowe⁷ clothes, 2 sakes, 2 ridles, 2 seefes, 2 shackeforks wth other implements——xv^{li}

Swyne—14 swyne whereof fyve soues wth piggs e 9 hoggs, 12 pig-gales——viiij^{li} viij^s

Mathew Wrighte woodehouse e chamber—woode, clyffs, garthes, halfe inche bordes, 300 of punchens,⁸ 200 of halfe inche bordes e other olde tymber, 20 mowlde bordes⁹——xi^{li} iiij^s ij^d

three yoaks, noches, plowe heads, plowe handles e harrowe bulles,¹⁰ single rayles and other tymber estymated in all 200——4^{li}

Oxe house—a fatt oxe, a bedd stead furnyshed, xx oxe bowes, 2 bedd steads e 2 beeds furnishede——vij^{li} iij^s iiij^d

Caulfe house—A cowpe body, a caulffe, a payre of wheeles, a storm wayne, j old cowpe——xvj^s viij^d

one kylne hayre clothe¹¹ e 8 sakes, 10 peeces of woode, 3 busshels of barley, 12 acres of rye estymated at 26^s——xliij^s

Corn on ground—viiij acres at 16^{li}, j acre e a halfe of blendings at same rate, 16^s deducting the same valewe of the land——xxvij^{li} vij^s iij^d

¹ Dial. var. of 'wanty'—a rope or band used to fasten the pack on a packsaddle, or a load on the back of a horse (*N.E.D.*).

² Coupe, coup—a cart or wagon with closed sides and ends, fitted for carting dung, lime, etc. (*N.E.D.*).

³ Gang of felks—a set of the felloes of a wheel (*Halliwell*).

⁴ A hoop or band.

⁵ The birkes—a grove of birches (*N.E.D.*).

⁶ Trunles, trundles—small wheels or rollers (*N.E.D.*).

⁷ Wyndow—obs. form of Winnow. A winnowing cloth.

⁸ A short upright piece of timber used to support a roof.

⁹ The projecting side of the plough (*Halliwell*).

¹⁰ The ribs of a wooden harrow (*Wright*).

¹¹ The cloth upon which the grain was laid in a kiln (*N.E.D.*).

Sheepe—85 couples, 28^{li} 6^s 8^d, 89 hoggs,¹ 19^{li} 10^s, 43 wethers²
 e tuppes, 14^{li} 6^s 8^d, 20 sheepe at 5^{li} 6^s 8^d——lxvij^{li} x^s

Beasse—8 drawne steers, 20 caulfes, 3 whyes³ and j caulfe, 8 drawne
 oxen, 8 whyes, 4 stotts,⁴ j bull, 23 kyne e i bull, 3 whyes e
 4 stirkes⁵——ccij^{li}

Horses—5 ould horses, 7 young coults e fillies, j blacke baye horse,
 i fillie, j gray meare, j frayned⁶ meare, j ould black mare——
 viij^{li} xv^s

birkes fallen in the woode——xx^s

his apparell——xx^{li}

in his purse——ij^{li}

First in Mr Midleton chamber—One beddstead, vallance, teaster,
 5 sea curtens, j fether bedd, j boulster, j pillowe, 3 blankets,
 i payre of sheets, j matters, j coveringe of tapestrie worke,
 j other trinnell beddstead, praysed at——vi^{li} xij^s iij^d
 one joyned table, 8 buffet stooles, 3 lytle stooles, 2 chares,
 1 greene carpett, 2 sett quishons, 2 greene quishons——xl^s

[col. 4

one truncke, j coffer, 2 chistes, i deske, j hanging of Dornecks
 at bedds head——xxix^s

In the inner closset—i fyre sholue, j payre of tongs——xviij^d
 one iron chiste, j caskett, j vice e other utensyles——vi^{li}
 xij^s iij^d

In Palled roome—one presse, j payre of bedd stocks, 2 truncks,
 3 bedd stocks——ij^{li} xiiij^s

In stoore chamber—one truncke, j chiste, j close stoole e a pann,
 3 brasse pannes, 2 dripping pannes, 2 friing pannes, 3 brasse
 potts, j warming pane, pewter of a great sorte, 25, of a midle
 sorte 14, of the least sorte——vij^{li} viij^s

2 stills, j limbecke, 3 candlesticks, 2 reacons,⁷ j girdell,⁸ j gird.
 iron, 2 brandreths, j payre of scayles, i payre of tongs, j stryking
 knyfe, 6 lead weights, j andiron, j haye houcke, j payre of
 scales e waye bookes, other old wooden vessells——xxv^s
 one great dripping pane——vj^s viij^d

¹ Hog — a sheep of a year old (Halliwell).

² A castrated ram (N.E.D.).

³ Whye, whie—a young heifer (Halliwell).

⁴ A young castrated ox, a steer (N.E.D.).

⁵ Stirk—a young bullock or heifer, usually between one and two years old (N.E.D.).

⁶ Frayned—brindled (N.E.D.).

⁷ Recon, rackan—a chain or other apparatus by which cooking vessels are suspended over a fire (N.E.D.).

⁸ Girdell, girdle—a circular plate of iron which is suspended over the fire, and upon which cakes are baked or toasted (N.E.D.).

six secks, one old cable roope, 2 baskets, j casket, 3 boxes,
hyve piches & other ould clunterment¹——vijj^s

In the hall—one standing table, 3 formes——xijj^s iiij^d

Butterie—one table, j joynd stoole, j quishon, j case of trenchers,
2 candle sticks, 2 beare potts, j voyder, j basket——xijj^s
one lytle sylver salt, parcell gilte, 6 silver spunes——xl^s
xj emptie hoggsheads, 8 firkinis, 2 flaskins, 2 ganteries, j tun-
nell,² j chiste, 2 drincking glasses——xxx^s
two table clothes, xj napkins, 16 spunnes——v^s

Steward chamber—one bedstead, j matters, j payre of blankets,
j payre of sheets, 2 coverletts, j boulster——xvijj^s
i truncke, j tresse, j quyshon, j candle sticke——iijj^s

Mayds parler—two beddstocks, 2 matteris, a payre of sheets, 5
blankets, 2 coverletts, i chiste, j kitt, i cloose stoole, j sowe,³
i old knoppe, j spining wheele——vj^s viij^d

Old dyning chamber—one table, j cubbord, j forme, 2 payre of
tables, i payre of tongs——xlvi^s viij^d

Mr Whyte chamber—two bedsteeds, i covering, j matters, j fether
bedd, 2 boulsters, 2 pillowes, j payre of blankets, 3 coverlets,
i ould covering, j payre of sheets, j cubbord, 2 stooles——l^s

Weet larder—two salting knoppes, j chese throughe, 2 tubbes,
j flasket, j tray, 2 tresses, i fatt, 3 chamber potts——iijj^{li}

Kiching—pewter there——lijj^s

2 morters, 2 pestels, 3 lytle panes, j pott, 2 chauffine dishes,
5 spitts, j frying pane, j payre of racks, 2 reckons, j fyre sholue,
j payre of tongs, 3 chiping knyves, 2 ladles, 2 dressing bords,
i trest, i grater, j old cubbord——xxxijj^s

Mr. Woods chamber—one fether bedd, j boulster, 2 pillowes, 2
pillowbears, j payre of sheets, 2 blankets, j coverlet, i ould
greene rugg, i dornicke curten & greene sea vallans——iiijj^{li} x^s
two truncks, 2 buffett stooles, 2 lytle stooles, 4 quishons,
j wickett chare, j scryne⁴——xvj^s
one presse bedd, j matteris, j payre of sheets, i blanket,
2 coverletts, j boulster, j cubbord cloth of dornickes, j bassen
& ure; j leveraye cubbord cloth——xxv^s
xij iron teambes,⁵ 5 wayne shacles, 2 ploughes, shacles, 4 iron

¹ Clunterment—not found in the
N.E.D., but would appear to mean
a miscellaneous collection of objects.

² Tunnel—a funnel (*Halliwell*).

³ Sowe, soe—a tub (*N.E.D.*).

⁴ A screen.

⁵ Teambes, teams—part of the gear
by which oxen or horses were
harnessed to a plough, wain, etc.,
(*N.E.D.*).

wedges, 5 aysnall neals, one gavelocke, 3 stokes, 3 culters, 2 hackes, j mattocke, 3 axes, 2 wymbels, j chisell, a payre of pincers, j chissell, j peace of irone, 2 sickles, 4 runers, j mucke dragg, j hopper¹——xlj^s

one pott, 5 pannes, j dripping panne——xl^s

j churne, 2 maudes,² 30 booles e trayes, j seefe, j knopp, e other ould wooden vessels——xvj^s

W^t chamber—one bedstead, j table, i stoole——x^s

3 piche forkes, 2 troughes syffes, j busshell, j knopp, 2 buckets, i hay spayd, 2 reckons, i standing table, i shelffe, 2 trestes——viij^s x^d

Brewe house—one masfatt e some brewing vessell[s]——xl^s

In barne—4 harrowes, 3 stees,³ 2 iron bounde waynes, 2 iron bound coopes e an other coope——vj^{li}

Stable and stable chamber—xij yoakes, axletrye, cliftes, j plowe beame, some old horse harnes e other old implements for husbandrye——xl^s

4 plowes, 2 carte bodyes, a payre of old carte wheeles and other trumplement⁴——xvj^s

Milne garner—maulter corne⁵ 3 quarters e 6 busshels at 4^s a busshell 32^s a quarter, vj^{li}, wheat 2 busshels and a halfe at 6^s 8^d a busshell, 16^s 8^d, malt 6 busshels, 3^s 4^d a busshell, 20^s, otte mealle 3 strookes⁶ e a halfe 21^s——viij^{li} xvij^s viij^d

Mill chamber—one beddstead e cloose to yt——vj^s viij^d

In milne—one chiste, 4 milne heads⁷ e some cogges, 2 shelves e j busshell, j milne arke, 2 tubbes, 2 ould gabels,⁸ 2 axes, j wymbell, j chessell, i gavelocke, i shoole, 18 pickes, j hand sawe, i peck, j moulter dishe,⁹ 2 old cable ropes, j pulleces, j dragg,¹⁰ j coole rake——xl^s

(end of the Inventory)

¹ Hopper—a seed basket (Halliwell).

² Mand, maund—a wicker or other woven basket having a handle (N.E.D.).

³ Stee—a ladder (Halliwell).

⁴ Not found in N.E.D., but probably allied to 'trumpery' and meaning something of no, or little, value. 'Truntlement,' obviously a corruption of 'trumplement,' is given in Carr's *Craven Dialect* as meaning trifling things of little value.

⁵ Multure corn—corn taken in payment of multure (N.E.D.).

⁶ Strooke, strike—a measure, not officially recognised after sixteenth cent., used in different parts of England; usually a bushel (N.E.D.).

⁷ Milnehead, millhead—that part of a horse mill from which the driving-gear is suspended (N.E.D.).

⁸ Perhaps gavel—a mason's setting maul (N.E.D.).

⁹ A vessel for measuring or collecting the multure (N.E.D.).

¹⁰ A malkin for an oven (Halliwell).

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF SIR WILLIAM INGILBY, KNT.

[fol. 1

An Inventorye of all the goodes and cattelles moveable and unmoveable of Sr Willm. Ingilby, knight, deceased, praysed this xixth of February Anno Domini 1617, by us, viz: George Burgoyne, Thomas Hyll, Willm. Lawson, James Fawvell, gentlemen, as followeth,

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis. hardcorne growing in Lowson feild	60	—	—
In Hardhyrsthouse.			
Imp: one stampe of hay, 4 plowes, j oxe harrow, 2 horse harrowes, 2 stackbarres, ¹ j ladder	01	12	4
It. in Burntaker, xix quy ² and a bull, aßt.	70	—	—
It. in the layth ther a stampe of hay	—	10	—
It. in Sowersikes the remaynder of one stack and 12 fold barres ³	04	10	—
It. in Sowersikes 25 ewes, 30 wethers and 3 tuppes	30	—	—
	166	12	4

In the fould

Imprimis. Eightyne draught oxen	5	10	—
Itm. foure draught oxen that came from Winsely ⁴	15	—	—
Itm. nynetyne swine, aßt.	09	—	—
Itm. in the coate eight shoates ⁵ at	01	—	—
Itm. three grey nages	18	—	—
Itm. five other nagges	13	6	8
Itm. in the stable one bey stoned coult	13	6	8
Itm. one grey geldinge	08	—	—
Itm. one pybald geldinge	06	13	4
Itm. two waynes and yron bound wheles }	10	—	—
Itm. two coupes wth iron bound wheles }			
Itm. 3 ladderes	—	4	—
Itm. one cart wth bound wheles	02	—	—
Itm. three stand hakes ⁶ and twoe sledes wth the rathes ⁷	01	—	—

¹ Stackbar—a hurdle for fencing a stack standing in an open field (*N.E.D.*).

² Quy—a young cow (*Halliwell*).

³ A similar term to stackbar, probably applied to hurdles used for penning sheep. (*Not in N.E.D.*)

⁴ In par. of Kirkby Malzeard, three miles from Ripley.

⁵ A young weaned pig (*N.E.D.*).

⁶ Stand hake, stand heck—a rack made with parallel spars to hold fodder (*N.E.D.*).

⁷ Rathes—rails, generally applied to a cart (*N.E.D.*).

	£	s.	d.
Itm. tenn yoakes furnished and eight teames } wth twoe boulttes and shakeles ¹ }	02	11	8
Itm. two peare of plow irones, two plow foot } eekes ² and a wimble }	—	10	—
Itm. a quarter of a hundreth of new iron	—	3	4
Itm. two peare of waine ropes	—	4	—
Itm. one horse draught wth traces, a plow foot, } boulte & shackleles, a cart sadle, a peare } of pincerres and an ax }	—	5	—
Itm. a gavelocke, a sheepe marke, a sledge, two spades and a quart' sawe ³	—	8	6
Itm. 5 newe skuttles ⁴ & one dousin of ox bowes, } two irone forkes wth other houslements } and a wood sithe ⁵ }	—	6	—
Itm. one stone & a quarter weight of leade	—	2	—
Su. fol. 364. 4. 2	197	11	10

It. one stack of hay and 12 stack barres in the [fol. 2
saw Ca——. 6 10 —

In the pantrie.

Twenty knopte ⁶ silver spoones, sixtyne playne spounes, two small silver bowles and twoe shipp sawseres in all in waight five pound and twoe ounces	20	10	—
Itm. twelve plates, six candlestikes & one chaff- ing dishe in waight 10 pd. one ounce	40	5	—
Itm. twoe flaggons, one canne, the maudlyn cupp wth a porringer cover, and a mithridate ⁷ box, a shuger box, a porringer and a cover, one bowle, waying 10 pound	40	—	—
Itm. one bason and ewer, two tune kannes and twoe Colledge pottes, two white bowles, weighing in all ten pound one ownce	40	5	—

¹ Bolts and shackles—the appli-
ances for coupling a plough or har-
row (*N.E.D.*).

² Eek, Eik—an addition (*Jamieson's
Scot. Dict.*); something added to the
plough foot.

³ The adjective “quarter-sawed,”
of wood—quartered appears in
N.E.D. under “quarter,” but not
“quarter saw,” which must have
been a tool used for this purpose.

⁴ Skuttle, scuttle—a basket for
sifting or winnowing corn (*N.E.D.*).

⁵ A sieve; a milk strainer (*N.E.D.*).

⁶ Having a knob of ornamental
character at the end.

⁷ An electuary containing many
ingredients, regarded as a universal
antidote against poison or infectious
disease. So called after Mithridates
VI, King of Pontus, who was said
to have made himself proof against
poisons by the constant use of anti-
dotes (*N.E.D.*).

	£	s.	d.
It. 2 bell saltes, 4 white bowles, one tunn, ¹ & a trencher salt weighing in all 5 pound two ounce	20	10	—
Guilt plate			
Imprimis. fower spounes, one great bowle wth a cover, one syngle bell salt, two bowles, one wth a cover, weight, fowre pounde tenn owences	24	1	—
	192	1	—
Pewter in the pantry			
Imprimis—five pewter kannes, one flagon, twoe basones and ewres, one hand basen and twoe saltes, 3 stone 6 pd.—48 ^{li}	1	16	—
Itm. twoe voyderes, six candlestickes, two brass candlestickes, weight 19 pound	—	14	—
A little cubbard, a square binge, ² a square table, a glasse case, seaven glasses, another binge, 7 bottles, three hogesheds and a tunnell, fowre baskettes, a table basket, a cheste for lynnyn, a flaskett, seaven jackes, and a greate kanne, and six buttry tubbes	2	15	10
In the seller.			
Imprimis—twenty two hogsheades, three barreles, three baskettes, two ale standes, three earthen pottes	1	13	4
	6	19	2

Legases gewen in the pantry.

Imprimis—one bason and ewer, parcell guilt, two
livery pottes whitte, one salte wth a
cover guilt, containes in weight 12 pd.
2 ownces.

Sū fol. £199-00-2.

[fol. 3]

In the kitchin.

Imprimis—a brasen mortar and a pestill	1	—	—
Itm. one jacke	1	6	8

¹ Tun—a small drinking vessel
(N.E.D.).

² Binge—equivalent to Bin (N.E.D.);
for storing bottles of wine,

	£	s.	d.
Itm. nyne spittes, twoe pare of rackes, one ould jacke, two plommes, fowre drippinge panes	3	2	8
Itm. one iron range, one gallow balke, one reckon and fower crookes, one fyreshoull, one peare of tonges, one iron rake	—	13	4
Three great pottes and a possnett, one gret beefe pott in a furnes, one greete brass pott, two kettles and a fish pann, two little panes, three laddles, two strikeing knifes, one shreeding knife, one gird iron and a cokele yron, ¹ one fire porr, ² a gratter and skimer, and one other bras potte	6	7	4
Itm—eightine platters, sallett ³ dishes and glase dishes, twenty six, 4 pye plates, eight sawseres, weight in all 6 stone 11 pound	1	13	4
Itm. one cubbord, one ladder and seaven bacon flickes ⁴	3	11	3
	2	10	—

Pewter out of the chamber.

Imprimis—three pie plates, 2 fruit plates, one collender, 36 pewter dishes, weight in all 3 stone 11 pounds	1	19	9
Itm. 7 voydieres, 6 platteres, weight thre stone eleven pound	1	19	9
Itm—one pastie plate, 30 sawseres, 14 table dishes, one great basin, 6 little dishes, weight in all 3 stone eleven pound	1	19	9
Itm.—one litle hand bason, 3 porringeres, twoe candlestickes, one pewter kann, and a flaggon, a possnet and an ewer, weight in all 19 pounce	—	14	3
	26	18	1

In the larder.

[fol. 4]

Imprimis—one saffe, one coubbert, one kimlin, three larder boardes, two souse kymlinges, one peper milne, one ote mele cheste, twoe runeletes for viniger, one hynging shelve, one baking pann, one beefe axe, one pecke and two wood bowles	2	—	—
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---	---	---

¹ Cockle—a curl or ringlet (*N.E.D.*).
In this case an iron for producing
curls.

² Por—a poker (*Halliwell*).

³ Sallet—obs. form of 'Salad.'

⁴ Flick—obs. form of 'Flich.'

	£	s.	d.
In the wett larder.			
Imprimis. one greate leade sesterne, one little leade sesterne, one greate plancke, one stock to strike meate uppon, and fower bacon flitches & other houslements	11	—	—
In the fish chamber			
Imprimis. of great linge twelve coupple, of lesser linge forty couple, habberding ¹ fiftine copple and one fish	8	—	—
In the salte house.			
Itm. one loade of salt and twoe ould hoggesheades	—	4	—
Itm. of certayne cowper tymbere	—	3	4
In the brewhouse			
Imprimis—[<i>damaged</i>] leade with a copper bottom, one lead [<i>damaged</i>], one maske fatt, one guile fatt, two cowleres, one other great tubb, 4 soahes, ² 7 ould hogesheades, two small tubes, a kneading trough and other houslemente	20	—	—
In the bakehouse.			
Imprim. twoe kettles, twoe pannes, one iron brandereth, 3 flaskettes, two reckenes wth other houslemente and a stone trough	2	—	—
In the bulting house			
Impr.—one dough troughe, 4 temses, one boulding arke, a flaskett and 7 seckes, one sive and other houslementes	—	10	—
In the dayre house.			
Imprimis—twentie bowles, 10 skeeles, ³ ij chessales, ⁴ 4 sinkeres, 3 presses, 2 kettles, 4 panes, one chese trough, one leade candle case, one chirne, one brandreth, one flaskitt, one kimlin, two frying panes, twoe butter kittes, in the ould milkehouse; And nyne shelves in the newe milkehouse, 3 breade bordes and 3 shelves wth other houslemente	6	6	8
	50	04	0

¹ Haberdine—the name of a large sort of cod used esp. for salting (N.E.D.).

² Soahe—a form of 'Soe,' a large tub.

³ Skeel—a wooden pail, esp. used for holding milk (N.E.D.).

⁴ Chessales, chessels—a cheese vat (N.E.D.).

In the dary house chamber.

[fol. 5

Imprim.—20 cheeses, 12 boardes, and a planke, one limbecke, one sacke of hoppes, one soahe, one kitt of mustard seede, twoe ould truncke chestes, a tallow cheste, and one tallow kake, two boards, and hangeres wth other houslement	£	s.	d.
	4	10	—

In the kilne house

Imprimis.—one bed, and ould step fatte, wth other houslement, 20 henes, 4 capones, 4 geese, 14 duckes, one kilne heare a wantinge	1	4	—
Itm. two swine tubbes and a trough	—	3	4

In the oxen house.

Imprimis.—one ould fether bed, 2 blankittes, a boulder, a thin rugg, a pare of coverlites and a peare of shettes, a beddsted, and fower bordes	1	15	—
Itm. 3 shoueles, 3 forkes, 2 shodd	—	5	—
Itm. seaven loade of course hay	2	00	—

In the stable.

Imprimis. a bay and gray nagg	8	—	—
Itm. fower saddles furnished	4	—	—
Itm. 6 livery saddles furnished, one padd	—	13	4
Itm. 4 saddles for service [<i>damaged</i>]			
Itm. one ould truncke saddle [<i>damaged</i>]			
Itm. 4 bittes wth bosses, 3 without, twelve buckles, a peece of girth webb, somm fleames, ¹ a little cross bow crupper, bandes and bridles	—	4	—
Itm. one stand beed, a fether bedd and boulder, a payre of blankittes, shettes, and one coverlett	3	10	—
Itm. 3 ould coverletts, a payre of sheetes, one blankett, one matteresse and one fether pillow	—	8	—
Itm. 6 bittes more wth other houslement	—	5	—
Itm. two pales, twoe tunnes, one soahe, two buckettes, two provin ² tubbes, three ould colleres wth other houslement	—	8	—
	31	5	8

¹ Fleam—a kind of lancet used for bleeding horses (*N.E.D.*).² Proven—equivalent to 'Provend,' dry food for horses, esp. hay and corn (*N.E.D.*).

		[fol. 6		
		£	s.	d.
In the hall				
Imprimis.—a syde table, wth a tressell frame.				
Itm.	a longe frame table, a forme and a backe settle, and a rounde table in the bay windowe and a payre of tables	1	10	—
Itm.	three peeces of ould hanginge			
In the fould				
Itm.	one hundreth loade of mannor	5	—	—
In the cornebarne				
Impr.—	one breste stampe of rey att	8	—	—
Itm.	one breste stampe of whate att			
Itm.	one stampe of rey att the south end of the barne & one stampe of light corne	5	—	—
Itm.	one stampe of barly att			
Itm.	one stampe of oates at the northe end of the barne att	2	13	4
Itm.	a litle stampe of beanes	—	13	4
Itm.	one fann to window corne	—	6	8
Itm.	one leape ¹	—	1	6
In the garne house ²				
Imprimis—	6 bushelles of rey	1	4	—
Itm.	4 busshelles of oates	—	5	—
Itm.	one grater	—	6	8
Itm.	two [<i>damaged</i>], two bushelles, one peck [<i>damaged</i>]	—	5	—
Itm.	two payre of weane blades ³ and [<i>damaged</i>] on the backesyde of the hay lathe, a wayne bodye and a coupe body	1	16	—
In the hay lath				
Imprimis—	one coach w th the furniture	10	—	—
Itm.—	in hay and turffes theire	3	2	—
In the hagge house				
Imprimis—	9 axeltres, 5 plow beames, 8 gange of felkes, 4 whele barrowes, 15 boardes, 9 mould bordes, one ould coach whele, wayne speakes, ⁴ plow heads, and other plowe geare peaked ⁵ in the topp of the house, and a ladder	4	10	—

¹ Leap—a basket, sometimes used as a measure (*N.E.D.*).

² Garner house—a storehouse, esp. for corn (*N.E.D.*).

³ Wain blades—the shafts of a cart or wagon (Wright).

⁴ Speakes, spekes—the spokes of a wheel (Halliwell).

⁵ Peaked—perched.

£ s. d.

In the store house

Imprimis.—a fether bedd, a bed steade, one boulder, a payre of sheetes, a blanckett, two coverlettes

2 — —

It. two elme planks and an halfe to make milne trunnels and two wedges and lyme in the lyme house

1 — —

In the porteres lodge

Imp.—one fether bed, one boulder, one mattress, one pillow, a payre of blankittes, one greene rugg, one bedstead and an ould cheire, and a little table, and certain shelves

5 — —

63 14 6

[fol. 7]

In the greene courte

Imprimis.—coales for provision

1 — —

In the woorkehouse chamber

Imprimis—one bedsteade, one fether bed, one boulder, 3 blankitts, one ould rugg, one ould covering, one payre of sheetes, and one matteriss

3 — —

Itm.—cogges and spindles, one weigh balke,¹ skales, and a bell

— 13 4

In the tower chamber.

Imp.—one bedstead, a fether bedd, a boulder, one blanckett, a payre of sheetes, two ruges, one chamber potte and a coverlett

4 10 —

In the woorkehouse

Itm. certaine peeces of ould sealing² and tymber for cowper ware

1 6 8

tymber house

Imprimis—of inch boardes, halfe inch bordes, rayles, punsiones³ and bed tymber and other tymber

26 13 4

In the cookes chamber.

Imp.—one bedsteade, one fether bed, 2 boulderes, one blanckett, 3 coverlettes, and a bedd

¹ Weigh balk—the beam of a pair of scales, or steelyard (*N.E.D.*).

² Variant for ceiling—timber used for partitions or panelling (*N.E.D.*).

³ Punchion—an upright piece of stout timber in a wooden partition (*Halliwell*).

	£	s.	d.
for y ^e kitchin boyes, and two payre of sheetes	3	—	—
In John Howldesworthes chamber			
Imp.—one bedstead, a good fether bed, two pillowes, one mattrasse, and a blanckett	4	—	
In M ^r Nortones [<i>damaged</i>]			
Imp.—a bedstead, a fether bed [<i>damaged</i>] pillowes, 3 blankettes, a coverlitt and [<i>damaged</i>] coveringe, an ould table and a cheire [<i>damaged</i>] pillow beares and a payre of sheetes	—	—	—
In the studdey			
Imp.—2 livery cubbert, a craue nett, a sparrow nett, a larke nett, a fleight nett, 9 snaffles, 6 bridles, 3 horse colleres	2	5	—
In the dyninge parlor			
Imp. one longe drawe table, a syde table & cubbard	2	13	4
Itm. one needle woorke carpett, and a greene penny stone cover, ¹ and an ould sett woorke carpett ² for the draw table, and a needle wrought carpett for the cubbart	13	6	8
Itm. two ould carpittes for the syde table and the cubbart	—	13	4
Itm. eleven joyned stoules, Ireish stich, 12 sett woorke stoules, 3 high covered cheares, 2 lowe covered cheares, two lowe covered stowles, one longe quishion, tenne quishionnes, two mappes, one chesboard and eleven picktares, one deske	11	8	8
Itm. one range, fire shoule and tonges and a fire porr and two skrenes, one greate one, and a little one, a toasting iron and a payre of snufferes	—	13	4
	80	3	8
In the inmoste high tower			[fol. 8]
Imprimis—one bedstead, wth an inbrodered head and cover, five taffety sarsnett curtaines, and vallines ³ inbrawthred	3	6	8

¹ A kind of coarse woollen cloth, formerly made at Penistone (*N.E.D.*).

² The word 'carpet' is frequently used at this time for a thick woollen

fabric covering a table, even the Communion table, or a cupboard.

³ Vallines—variant of 'valance.'

	£	s.	d.
Itm. a matteras, a fether bed, a boultster, two pillowes, 3 blankettes, a blew rugg, one payre of sheets, and two pillow beares	6	1	8
Itm. annother stand beed wth a joyned teaster and stuffe curtaynes	4	—	—
Itm. uppon the same bedd one matteras, one fether bedd, one boulster, 2 pillowes, two blankettes, one coverlett and a rugge, one payre of sheets and two pillow beares	6	3	4
Itm. an high chaire covered wth inbrowtheri, one high stowle and one lowe stowle covered, a little round cubbard, a livery coubbard & a Darnish carpett & 2 chamber pottes	1	13	4

In the outter chamber theire

Impr.—one peece of Arras ¹ 16 yeardes	6	13	4
Itm. a bedstead wth a stuffe cannabie, one matteras, a fether bed, one boulster, two blankettes, a payre of sheets, a couerlitt and a coveringe	4	—	—
Itm. one livery cubbart, a Dornish carpitt, a joyned stowle, a fire shouell, & a chamber pott	—	13	4

In Sir Peter Middleton² chamber

[<i>damaged</i>] wth a sattaine teaster [<i>damaged</i>] & five taffitie [<i>damaged</i>] taines layde wth gould and [<i>damaged</i>] aboute	18	—	—
Itm. one matteras, one fether bed, one boulster, two pillowes, 3 blankettes, one peaire of sheetes, 2 pillowbeares, a greate rugge & a changable ³ taffitie quilt	15	6	8
Itm. one hye cheare sutttable ⁴ to the bedd, one lowe covered stowle & one longe quishinge	1	10	—
Itm. one livery cobbart wth a green clothe uppon it, fyreshoull and tongs and a chamber pott & a paire of andyrons	—	13	4

¹ A rich tapestry fabric in which figures and scenes are woven in colours, called after Arras, where it was manufactured (*N.E.D.*).

² Sir Peter married Mary, sole dau. and heiress of David Ingleby, by his wife Anne, dau. of Charles Nevile, earl of Westmorland (*Dugdale's*

Visitation of Yorkshire, Clay's' ed., II, 350).

³ Changeable — showing different colours under different aspects; 'shot' (*N.E.D.*).

⁴ Suitable — agreeing in shape, colour, pattern or style (*N.E.D.*).

	£	s.	d.
Itm. a pallett beed, ¹ viz. one mattarass, one fether bed, j bolster, one payre of sheetes, 2 blankettes and a rugg, five peeces of hanginges, j window curtyn and rodd	12	3	4
In the knightes chamber.			
Imp.—one stand bedd wth a teaster of cloth of tissew and crimson wrowght velvett wth vallaines answerable ² wth gold and silke fring, 5 taffaty sarsenett curtins	15	10	
Itm. one fetherbed, one bolster, 2 pillowes, 3 blanketts, a crimson rugg, a taffaty sarsenett quilt, one payre of sheets and one pillowbear	11	13	4
	106	18	4

In the knightes chamber [*continued*]

[fol. 9]

It. one low stoole, an highe chaire answerable to the bedd, a long sett work quishion, 2 other quishions, a livery cubbard and a grene carpett and an other low stoole	2	6	8
Itm. an yron range, a bellows, j shovell, j payre of tonges, and a chamber pott	—	6	8

In the inner chamber ther

Imp.—one stand bedd, a boulder, a payre of sheetes, 2 blanketts, one grene rugg, one livery cubbard, and a close stoole	5	10	8
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---	----	---

In the best chamber—legacie

Imp: 5 peeces of hanginges, one highe chaire, one low chair, 2 low stooles, 3 quishions, a long quishion, a cubbard w th a needle wrought carpett.			
It. j beddsted wth an imbrothered tester, 5 blew sarsenett curtyns, one blew sarsenett quilt, one blew rugg, 3 blanketts, one doone bedd, one boulder, 2 pillowes, a mattaras, a payre of sheetes and two pillowbers			
It. one livery suit of Damaske.			
It. j pallett wth a mattaras, j fetherbed, 3 blanketts, j coverlett and a covering, a payre			

¹ Literally a straw bed or mattress (*N.E.D.*).

² Corresponding.

£ s. d.

of andyrons, fire shouell and [*damaged*]
payre of bellows, and in the [*damaged*]
a close stoole

In the new studdy.

Imp: one counter wth draw boxes, a grene carpett,
2 little trunkes, 2 cabbanetts, one seller
box,¹ j grene imbrothered chaire, one
wrought quishion, a nest of basketts, 2
pump suckers,² a christall glass, a fire
shouell, e tonges, a fire porre, bellows,
3 curtains and 3 curtin roddes

7 — —

Legacie ther

The bookes in his studdy, the ould studdy,
the dyning parlour and the armes in Sr
W^{ms} chamber.

In Sr W^{ms} owne chamber.

Imp: one beddsted, blew cloth tester e curtins,
one sarsenett quilt, j gren rugg, 2 blan-
ketts, 2 pillowes, j fether bed, one bolster
and 2 mattarasses

10 — —

It. one other bedsted, a grene rugg wth a canopie
head only, 2 blanketts, j bolster, j pil-
low, a fetherbed, a mattarass, and a
sparwaner³ curtyn of Darnish and a rodd

4 6 —
29 10 —

In Sr W^{ms} chamber still

[fol. 10]

A great iron chest, a flanders cheste, one
cubbard box, one highe stand cubbard,
one square table, one counter table, one
liveriey cubbard, one playne deske, 3
highe chaires, 4 covered stooles and two
quishions

10 — —

It.—one range, a fire shouell and tonges, a little
forme, a lookeing glass, a lookinge glass,
one hand basin, a chafing dishe, one
toasting iron, one smoothing iron and
one stand liveriey cubbard wth boxes

1 2 —

¹ Cellar box—a box or case, esp. for holding bottles (*N.E.D.*).

² The disc or other contrivance attached to the rod of a pump to enable it to suck up water (*N.E.D.*).

³ This word does not appear in *N.E.D.*, but may be a variant of 'sparver,' used for a canopy of a bed or a curtain.

£ s. d.

In the chappell chamber.

Imp: one bedsted, one fetherbed, one bolster, 3
blanketts, one ould rugg, a wanded¹ chair,
a trunnell bedsted, one trunke, 4 covered
stooles, 2 highe joyned stooles, two close
stooles, 2 quishions, one warmeing pann,
wth divers other huslements 3 6 8

It. more in Sr W^{ms} chamber. the Darnishe hang-
inges, two Darnish carpetts and one close
lanterne — 15 —

Uppon the starecase

Imp: one square table, a joyned chest, one skrene,
a wooden case and a brass lampin² — 16 —

In the stilling chamber.³

[*damaged*] lynnenn in it, viz. 2 [*damaged*]
sheetes, 2 pillowberes, [*damaged*] sheetes,
2 ould lynnenn [*damaged*] owells 3 —

[*damaged*] ould chest wth ould housle-
ments, viz one long needle worke carpett,
two ould counterpoints,⁴ one ould cub-
bard cloth of needle worke, one new
quishion and certayne peeces of ould
Darnish and one long quishion of needle
worke 7 — —

It. one stand cubbard, a flanders lyned trunke
wth lyne [*damaged*] it of 8 stone of lyne
and 4 stone of hempe 4 10 —

It. one ould press, one long quishion, 2 highe
stand cubbardes, one ould empty quishion,
two grene sey curtins for a canopie, one
skrene and a deske 1 10 —

It. one great trunke, and in it, viz. 7 curtins, one
canopie head, one blankett, and an ould
counterpoint, and a still 1 10 —

In the new gallory.

Imp: one counting table, 9 glasses, one bell, one
iron trapp, one candlestick, j frock⁵ 1 4 —

¹ Made of wicker-work (N.E.D.).² Lampin: possibly two words written in one.³ Stilling chamber—probably the same as still-room. Originally a

room in which a still was kept for distillation of perfumes and cordials; later on the housekeeper's room.

⁴ A counterpane (Halliwell).⁵ A kind of loose coat (Halliwell).

£ s. d.

In the lo: storehouse

Imp: one chest, one bottle of sallett oyle, one perfuming chafing dishe, other bottles, glasses, violls and other houslements	—	13	4
	35	7	—

In the chappell

[fol. 11]

Imp: one long table, two ould bedsteds, divers peeces of seeling and divers other ould peeces of tymber and boardes	2	—	—
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In the parlour at the stairfoot

Imp: a wanded chair and a throwne chaire, an yron range, a fire purr	1	—	—
----------------------------------------------------------------------	---	---	---

In the buttry chamber

Imp: one bedsted wth a canopie of pladd, ¹ one mattarass, one fetherbed, a boulster, j pillow, 2 blanketts, a rugg, one payre of sheetes and a pillowbere	7	10	—
It. one cubbard bed, one mattarass, j bolster, one pillow, one sheet and a coverlett	1	10	—
It. one truckle bed for the maydes, j mattaras, one fether bed, one bolster, 3 blanketts, one rugg, and a payre of sheets	4	—	—
It. one flanders lyned truncke wth lynnyn, viz 4 payre of fyne sheetes, 4 fyne pillowberes and one sheet, 3 payre of fowle sheetes, 4 payre of fine hempen sheetes, two courser payre, 2 damaske table clothes, one diaper table clothe, 5 damaske napkins and 4 diaper napkins	9	15	4
It. 3 long fine table clothes, ould ones, five course long table clothes, 3 shorter table clothes	2	8	—
It. 5 dozen of lynnyn napkins lack one, 9 fine cubbard clothes, 6 course cubbard clothes, 2 long lynnyn table clothes and 2 course ones, 7 towells, 8 dozen and 7 course napkins	5	16	8
It. 2 peeces of new diaper, sixtene yarden of holland, 3 hall clothes, one cubbard, one			

¹ A variant of 'plaid.' For its use in connection with the draping of a bed, see under 'Plaid' (N.E.D.).

	£	s.	d.
counter table wth a cloth, j chaire, 2 highe stooles, one low stoole, one round table in the entry, a rang, a shouell, one tonges and bellowes	7	6	8
In the loft over the buttry chamber			
Imp. 4 payre of andyrans, 3 framed chaires, 3 buffett stooles	2	6	8
It. one fetherbed, one boulster, a pillow, 3 blan- ketts, and an ould covering, one wooden chest, a still w th baskett & other hous- lem ^{ts}	3	6	8
It. one close stoole and an other in S ^r Peter Middletons chamber forgotten before	—	10	—
In the wardropp ¹			
Imp: one bedsted, wth sey teaster and curtins, a fetherbed, a boulster, j pillows [<i>sic</i>], j payr sheets, 3 blanketts and one rugg	5	—	—
	52	10	—
In the wardropp [<i>continued</i>]			[fol. 12]
It. 2 chayres, an ould counter, an ould close stoole, one mayle, ² one portemanteaux, 3 ould trunkes besides the trunkes that keep S ^r W ^{ms} apparrell and 2 great chestes	1	—	—
In the milne att Ripley			
Impr: one brasse pulley wth an yron pynn, 14 boardes, one moultter arke, 1 gavelock	1	—	—
Att the lodge.			
Imp: one draw table, one forme, one liverey cub- bard, one table wth a framed bench, one lead for breweing	3	13	4
In Dame Haxbeyes house			
Imp: one cubbert, one other buttry cubbard, one round table, one forme and an ould counter	1	—	—
ATT HAIREWELL ³			
Imp: one bedsted wth a gren tester laced wth silke, lace fringe and 4 silke curtins	3	—	—

¹ Probably so called because Sir William's apparel was kept there.

² Mail—a bag, pack or wallet (N.E.D.).

³ Harewell near the west bank of the Nidd, north of Dacre.

£ s. d.

In Sr W^{ms} bed chamber

Imp: 2 fetherbeds, 2 bolsters, 3 counterpoincs, one tapestry carpett, one tapistry cubbard cloth	4	5	—
It. one Darnishe carpett, one redd home made rugg, one paire of blanketts, one chair, six stooles and 3 low stooles	1	14	6
It. one trunell bedsted	—	6	6
It. one bedsted wth a blew tester and fower curtins and vallances	1	15	—

In the middle chamber

Imp: 2 bedsteds, 3 fetherbedds, 2 matterasses, j bolsters [<i>sic</i>], a paire of blanketts, one white rugg, one coverlett, one gren rugg and one blankett	9	10	—
It. 2 liverie cubbardes, one broken chair, one tester and 4 curtins sutable, e j blew rugg	1	10	—
It. one cannopie bedsted wth a grene canopie and a vayle ¹	2	3	4
It. one fetherbed, one bolster, 2 pillowes, one mattarax and two blanketts	4	10	

In the dyning parlour.

Imp: one draw table, j leverie cubbard, j little table, one little box cubbard, two payre of andyrans, a fire shouels [<i>sic</i>], 3 grates and two payre of tonges	2	10	—
	37	17	8

HAYRE WELL

[fol. 13]

In the dyning parlour [*continued*]

It. 8 chamber pottes and 12 candlestickes	1	4	
It. one great hand basin, 2 great platters, 7 great platters, 4 great deep dishes, 5 less deep dishes, 4 other dishes, 2 other dishes, 5 little dishes, 2 pye plates, six trencher plates, 2 porringers, j salt, 10 sawsers, one little pann, one close stoole pann	3	13	4

In the hall and other places

Imp: one long table, j forme, one shorter wyned table and one forme, j brewing lead, one maske fatt, a guile fatt, and 2 keelers	8	13	4
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¹ Veil—possibly a hanging falling from the canopy.

	£	s.	d.
It. one beefe kimlin, two great arkes and one gallowbalke	2	10	—
In the larder			
Imp: one great brass pott and a little pott	2	—	8
It. one great cawldron, fower kettles & six pannes	2	6	—
It. two brass candlestickes	—	2	—
It. 4 spitts, 2 grydyrons, 2 payre of pott kilpes, ¹ 2 reckon crookes, 2 reckons, 2 little lad- ders, one brass skemmer, one beefe prick, one striking knife, one shredding knife, one fryeing pan, one fyre porr, and one paire of tonges	1	—	—
It. more ther, 16 milke bowles, 4 great dishes, 13 meat dishes, 6 chesfatts, 4 sinkers, 2 flasketts, 4 skales, one great dubbler, one little stand, two chyrnes, j chyrne staff, a steele, a skowpe, a kitt, two payre of butter cuppes, ² a hop baskett, two syles and one cheese troughe	1	3	—

IN BRIMHAM PARKE

Imp: thirtie six tymber trees ther	10	—	—
	32	12	4

INVENTORY OF THE GOODES ATT DIGHTON

[fol. 14]

In the out fold.

Imp: six stottes and a runt ³ oxe	35	10	—
It. certayne ould slate and some new slat un- dressed	01	10	—
It. 3 stand heckes, certaine manure, 2 stack barres and other houslements	2	10	—
It. 4 yoakes, 4 teames, 3 plowes 2 wth yrones, 2 waynes, two cowpes, wth ther furniture, 3 ladders, wth some other odd tymber	16	—	—
It. two great sleddes, 2 plowe sleddes and some ould wood, some ould pale and vale	—	13	4
It. eight oxen and one diseased oxe	45	—	—

¹ Kilp—the pothook from which a pot is suspended (*N.E.D.*).² Butter cup—a cup for holding butter; obs. (*N.E.D.*).³ Runt—used of an ox of a small breed, esp. of the small breeds of Wales and the Highlands of Scotland; sometimes applied to an old ox (*N.E.D.*).

£ s. d.

In the storehouse.

Imp: 3 wayne head yoakes, 4 other yokes, three teames, boulttes and shakles, one oxe harrow, two peare of horse harrowes, 2 shoulles, two forkes and a spade all shodd, wth other houslements	2	13	4
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In the calfe close.

Imp: one yoake of oxen ffatt	13	10	—
Itm. three fatt stottes and a ffatt cow	13	—	—
Itm. eight yonge stirkes	10	13	4
Itm. 22 sheepe hogges and a little tupp	7	—	—
Itm. a stacke of hey and tenn stacke bares	6	—	—

In the parke close

Imp: two key ¹ there	6	—	—
Itm. the hardecorne in the hall wood	30	—	—
Itm. fflower trees, a sapling for ladderes, two roole endes, and other tymber and rooles	3	—	—

Horses.

Imp: one gray ffillye gieven to M ^r Yorke for a legacie			
Itm. one bay nagg	3	—	—
Itm. a bay curtall ²	2	—	—
Itm. a gray nagge	4	10	—

In the newe garnehouse

Itm. of rey, 9 quarteres, 2 bushelles	12	—	—
Itm. of peaze theire 12 bus[helles]	1	—	—
Itm. oats three quarteres	1	10	—
Itm. one quarter of barley	1	—	—
Itm. a settle, 3 shelves and a dozen browmes	—	2	—
	218	2	—

In the well yeard

[fol. 15

Imp. coales for the provision of the house	12	—	—
Itm. a grinde stone wth a double crooke and a wood trough, and a whele barrow	—	3	4

In the dayrie house

A little square table and a forme	—	3	4
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In one of the barnes

Imp. corne unwindowed or the lath flower	1	13	4
Itm. 3 eelandes of wheate	9	—	—

¹ Key — obs. form of 'Cow' (N.E.D.).

² Curtall—a horse with its tail docked (N.E.D.).

	£	s.	d.
Itm. two baysteades of rey	26	13	4
Itm. a bay stead & a eland of hay	8	—	—
Corne in the Westefeild			
Imp: 20 acres of hardcorne, vidz., 12 acres of wheat and 8 of ray	40	—	—
In the garnehous over the stable			
Itm. twelve quarteres of blendinges	8	—	—
In the ware corne lath			
Imp: barly unwindowed uppon the flour and barly unthreshed	8	—	—
Itm. blendinges uppon the balke ¹ and under the same balke, and boardes.	12	—	—
Itm. one stampe of blendinges in the north end of the same lath			
Itm. a parcell of charcole	1	6	8
In the entrye			
Imp: 54 inch boardes and some ould tymber in the yeard In the chappell 3 peeces of wayne skott and some lathes	2	13	4
In Edward Welyes his parlor			
Imp: one stand bed, one mattress, one fether bed, one boulster and a pillowe beare, three blankittes, a coverlett, a counterpoint, and one peare of sheetes and a stowle	6	16	—
Dighton still			
In the inner rume next south parlor			
one bedstead, and an iron range in the out parlor	—	6	8
Itm. in the studdy, one table	—	7	6
	136	17	6
In the great chamber.			[fol. 16
Imp: one draw table, a forme & a range	1	10	
Itm. one window curtaine & one curtaine rodd			
In Sr Willm. bed chamber			
Imp:—a faire stand bed wth a greene topp and five greene curtaines, one fether bedd, one boulster, one pillow, two blankettes, and a greene rugg, one quilt	7	—	—
It. one joyne cheare, a peare of bellows, a window curtaine and a rodd, and two peeces of Dornix and one lowe : oule	1	16	—

¹ The tie-beams of a building, laid with boards so as to form a loft (N.E.D.).

	£	s.	d.
In the next roome			
I[n] the next chamber—an ould bedstead, one close stowle, and a forme	—	3	4
In my Ladyes clossett			
Imp: a baskett, some trencheres and some other wooden vessell	—	5	—
In the lowe parlor att steare foott			
Imp: two bedsteades, one cheare, and some other houslements	1	—	—
In the hall			
Imp: a longe table, a syde table, one cubbart table, 2 formes & a range	2	—	—
In the kitchin			
Imp: one gallow balke, one range, two tressell tables, twoe shelves, and in the Pastrie, a kimlin & five shilves	2	—	—
In the brewhouse			
Imp: one leade att	6	13	4
Itm. a maske ffatt, a guyle fatt, and 2 cowleres, one kettle and one stone trough	4	6	8
In the boulting house.			
¹ Imp. one covered kimlinge, two kneading trouhtes, wth som other houslements, one soughe ² and a kitt	—	10	—
	27	4	4
In the buttrye			[fol. 17]
Imprimis—three gawntryes, 4 shelves, a binge, one forme and certaine shilves, two jackes and one hoggheads [<i>sic</i>]	1	—	—
In the milne			
Imp: eightine pickes, one gavelocke, one chisell, and an hatchitt, one spade, a new caple, ³ one matteras, one peaire of sheetes, two blankittes, one dubble coveringe	1	10	—
It. in the chamber over the gates—certayn cogges and spindles	—	10	—

¹ In the margin: "John Bransbye's goods."

² Soughe—probably a variant of 'Soe,' a large tub.

³ Caple—variant of 'Capel,' the horn joint which connects the two parts of a flail (Halliwell).

	£	s.	d.
Forgotten att Ripley.			
Imp: certaine tymber that lyethe in the loft over the skrene in the hall	—	13	4
It. a pumpe wimble that lyeth in the hall end and bitts therto belonging	—	13	4
	4	6	8
It. forgotten.			
Imp: one bay gelding in the possession of Mr John Pulleyne	3	—	—
It. one grey gelding in possession of M ^r Wm. Turney	4	—	—
	7	—	—
In all this side	11	6	8
The whole some of all these goodes besyd the legacies	1503	16	1
George Burgoyne			
T. Hill			
W. Lawson			
James Favell			

[fol. 18]

A note of the Legacies given by
S^r Willm. Ingilbie as wee
have prysed them

Impr: All his bookes att Ripley and Dighton given to his nephew M ^r Willm. Ingilbie ¹	40	—	—
It. the plate given to Mr Wm. Ingilbie.			
It. one basin and ewer parcell gilt two livery potts white, one salt wth a cover double gilt weight twelve pound eight ounces	60	—	—
It. the bedding, the hanginges and all the furni- ture in the best chamber, as doth appeare in the particulers sett downe in this booke in his place given to Mr. Willm. Ingilbie	80	—	—
It. all the armour as it is now left in the house given to Mr. Wm. Ingilbie or were else his armes be	13	6	4

¹ William, s. and h. of Sampson,
fifth son of Sir William Ingilby
(d. 1578-9), by his wife Jane, d. of

(?) Ric. Lambert of Killinghall
(*Dugdale's Visitation*, Clay's ed., ii,
351).

	£	s.	d.
It. one sorrell stond horse, price	20	—	—
It. one sorrell yong gelding given to Mr. Robert Strickland	10	—	—
It. one gray mare given to Mr. John York ¹	6	—	—
It. one bay barbary stoned horse given to S ^r Peter Middleton	30	—	—
It. one striking clock given to S ^r Peter Middleton	10	—	—
It. one watch given to the La: Plompton	4	—	—
It. one watch to Mr. Wm. Ingilbies wife	5	—	—
It. one debt dew by Mr. John Lepton of 100 ^{li} given to Adam Tylsley	100	—	—
	<hr/>		
	in all	378	6 4
		<hr/>	

George Burgoyne

T. Hill

W. Lawson

James Favell

¹ John Yorke, eldest son of Thomas Yorke of Parcivall hall, Burnsall, second son of Peter Yorke of Gowth-

waite, by his wife Elizabeth, d. of Sir William Ingilby of Ripley (*Dugdale's Visitation*, Clay's ed., ii, 280).

EXCAVATIONS AT HAMPOLE PRIORY, 1937.

By REV. PROF. C. E. WHITING, M.A., D.D., F.S.A.

In the reign of Stephen the manor of Hampole was held of Roger de Busli by William de Clairfait and Avicia his wife, a daughter of William de Tani. William and Avicia, about 1150 A.D., founded and endowed a convent at Hampole. They endowed it with the town of Hampole, the church of Melton-on-the-Hill, the mills of Melton and the church of Bretwell, together with three bovates and a mansure of land at Lincoln.

In 1156 Adrian IV ordered that the nuns of St. Mary in Hanapol should be of the order of St. Benedict, and granted to them free sepulture to all who freely chose to be buried there. Thus by the will of Thomas Anne of Frickley, dated 11 Feb., 1467, the testator desired to be buried in the church of Blessed Mary of Hampall.

Though originally Benedictine, the convent changed over to the Cistercian rule at an early date. The names of fourteen prioresses have come down to us. The professed members seem to have been few in number. Masses were said and sung by a chaplain, who in the time of Henry VIII received a stipend of £4 13s. 4d. One of their chaplains, Robert Parkin, wrote, *inter alia*, "A History of the Blessed Jesus" in English verse, a manuscript copy of which was once in the possession of Ralph Thoresby.

According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the total income of the convent was £85 7s. 11d., but there were outgoings to be deducted, including stipends paid to chaplains at Adwick, Marr and Melton. The net income was therefore only a little over £63. The last prioress, Isabel Arthington, surrendered on 19th Nov., 1539. She, together with the sub-prioress and seventeen nuns, were granted pensions.

The site and demesne were granted to Francis Aislaby, but the Duke of Northumberland claimed them. However, in 1571 the property was divided between John Holmes and Martin Washington. The Washington family ultimately sold their estate to George, Earl of Kinnoul, and it passed with Brodsworth to the trustees under the will of Peter Thellusson.

Hampole is always connected with the name of Richard Rolle, who settled down ultimately near the priory of Hampole and seems to have acted as spiritual director of the nuns. He describes his

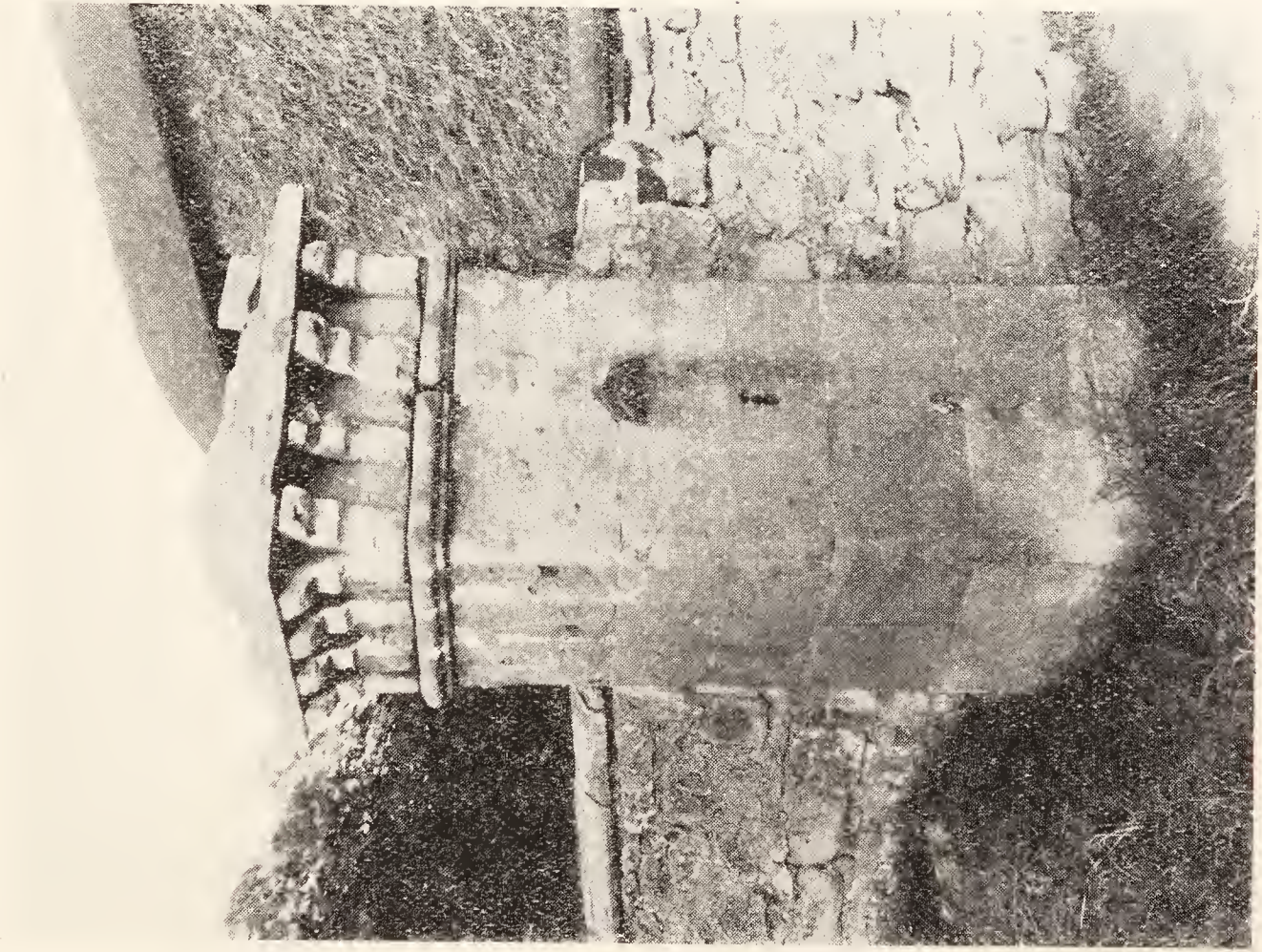


FIG. I. Mediæval masonry at gateway of Manor Farm.



FIG. II. East wall of buildings, from the north-east.

cell as a hidden secluded little hut. His work, *The Commandment of the Love of God*, was written for one of the Hampole sisters. He died at Hampole, most probably in 1349, and the office of commemoration in the York Breviary was drawn up by the nuns of Hampole. He was buried in the priory church, and one of the lessons in the office tells how a certain householder called Roger was inspired to build a shrine over the place where Richard was buried.

The priory has entirely disappeared from sight. There are a few scattered remains in the neighbourhood.

In South Kirby church, on the floor of the chapel, is a raised slab which bears the words "En Dieu, ès tout," the Wentworth motto, and the arms of Henry, Lord Fitz-Hugh and Alice his wife, who was a daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury. Hunter relates a tradition that this slab came from Hampole priory.

On the Priory Farm, in the occupation of Mr. Stanley, there are twelve octagonal columns with flat capitals, 6 inches thick by 2 feet square, with bases 1 foot thick by 2 feet square. The width of each side of the octagon is 8 inches. The shafts vary in height: six are 6 ft. 2 in., two are 6 ft. 4 in., and four are 5 ft. 2 in. Mr. Stanley said that at Hampole Grange some ten years ago there were half a dozen pillars, two of which were lying on the ground on the site of a shed which had been pulled down.

On the Manor Farm (Mr. Turnbull's) there are twenty circular pillars used for supports in cartsheds and cowsheds. They vary from 5 ft. 6 in. to 6 ft. 4 in. in height. All these are said to have come from Hampole Priory, but there seem to be too many of them, and although they appear unnecessarily massive for farm sheds, the doubt remains whether they are ecclesiastical at all.

A portion of a grave cover has been built into the west wall of a cottage on the east side of the main street.

In the south gable end of the schoolhouse on the village green are a niche and a cross, evidently from the convent buildings.

In the house next door to the school there is a cellar, the walls of which are obviously mediæval work. In the yard behind, under the outbuildings, Captain J. S. Mellor in 1925 opened out two arches and exposed some walls and steps. Some decorated plaster, coloured blue with gold stars, was also found. These outbuildings are now in a condition which makes it unsafe to dig beneath them.

Some scraps of mediæval masonry have been used to decorate the gateway of the Manor Farm [Fig. I].

In Thomas Allen's¹ time four shields might be seen on the walls of some of the cottages:

- (1) *A fess between three escallops*—Isabel Arthington.
- (2) *Five fusils in fess*.
- (3) The Five Wounds, the Heart in the centre, the Hands and Feet in saltire.
- (4) The emblems of the Passion.

None of these can now be seen.

Apart from these scraps no trace of the priory is visible. In the hope that excavation would throw some light on the general lay-out of the convent, work was begun on the site in August, 1937, and operations were carried on for a fortnight. The writer was assisted by Messrs. Wilfred T. Bennett, M.A., J. Bennett, E. R. Gaskill, A. H. Thornton, B.A., and Arthur Cook. The workmen were George Green, Herbert Leeman, J. Jones, and one or two others who were able to come for odd days. Mr. Logan of South Elmsall kindly made himself responsible for the photography. Captain C. Grant Dalton and the Hon. Emily Lindley Wood gave us permission to dig on their land, and the latter took a very kindly interest and gave us help in many ways. To all these the warmest thanks are due.

Except for what Captain Mellor had discovered we had very little to guide us in making a start. We had no idea how much of the monastic buildings might be covered by the present Hampole Priory and its gardens. But Captain Mellor's arches *might* have some connection with cloisters, and if so we *might* find something of the eastern range of the buildings in the long narrow field lying between the modern Priory grounds and Hampole Beck to the north. Moreover, Burton said that "the chapel stood on the north side of the old hall, betwixt that and the little beck, and the ground is now called Chapel Green." It was so called in Burton's time, no doubt, but that name seems to have been entirely forgotten.

Before it came into Miss Wood's possession the field had been a dumping ground for rubbish for many years. At least five springs flow into its south-western corner, and various drainage operations have played havoc with what was left of the buildings. One of our trenches rapidly filled with water, and the ground close to the west wall of the field was in places boggy. At the west end of the field there had been a row of thatched cottages, and these had been burnt down at some uncertain date—more than seventy years ago, we were told. Portions of the walls of these cottages, debris from

¹ Thos. Allen: *Hist. County York*, 1831, iii, 165.



FIG. III. South wall (inside) of north building A,
from the north.



FIG. IV. Buttress against north wall of south
building (probably the church).

their contents, a mass of burnt material, and a drain, probably of eighteenth-century origin, all combined to confuse matters at first, but were gradually all cleared away.

Beginning at the west side of the field we struck a long wall running north and south (Plan I: C). On the western side of it there was a good footing and one course: on the eastern side two courses of roughly squared stones with wide mortar joints, and no footing (Fig. II). The field slopes downward toward the north, and this wall was not horizontal, but the courses were parallel with the slope of the field.

At the north end a wall crossed this last (Plan I: D), running east and west. On the south side it showed three well-made courses and a footing. This was one of the best pieces of masonry observed anywhere. On the north side of this wall was a building [A] (Fig. III). Five courses remained on the south side, but the face was much broken: in fact the greater part of it at this point had toppled over. There were four courses on the east and seven on the north of this building, but again a great part of this northern face had fallen away. The base of a buttress (Plan I: E) was observed at the point where this wall is crossed by the field wall.

To the east of A was another building [B]. Its western wall was out of alignment with the long wall and was not bonded in. The whole suggested a later building. On the north side of the building the wall was broken away, except a scrap of footing; the east side stood three courses high, though the north corner was broken away down to this footing. The south wall was five courses high, but its eastern end was broken down to the footing. The western wall stood four courses high. What was left of B showed it to have been made of excellent masonry and almost certainly a later addition.

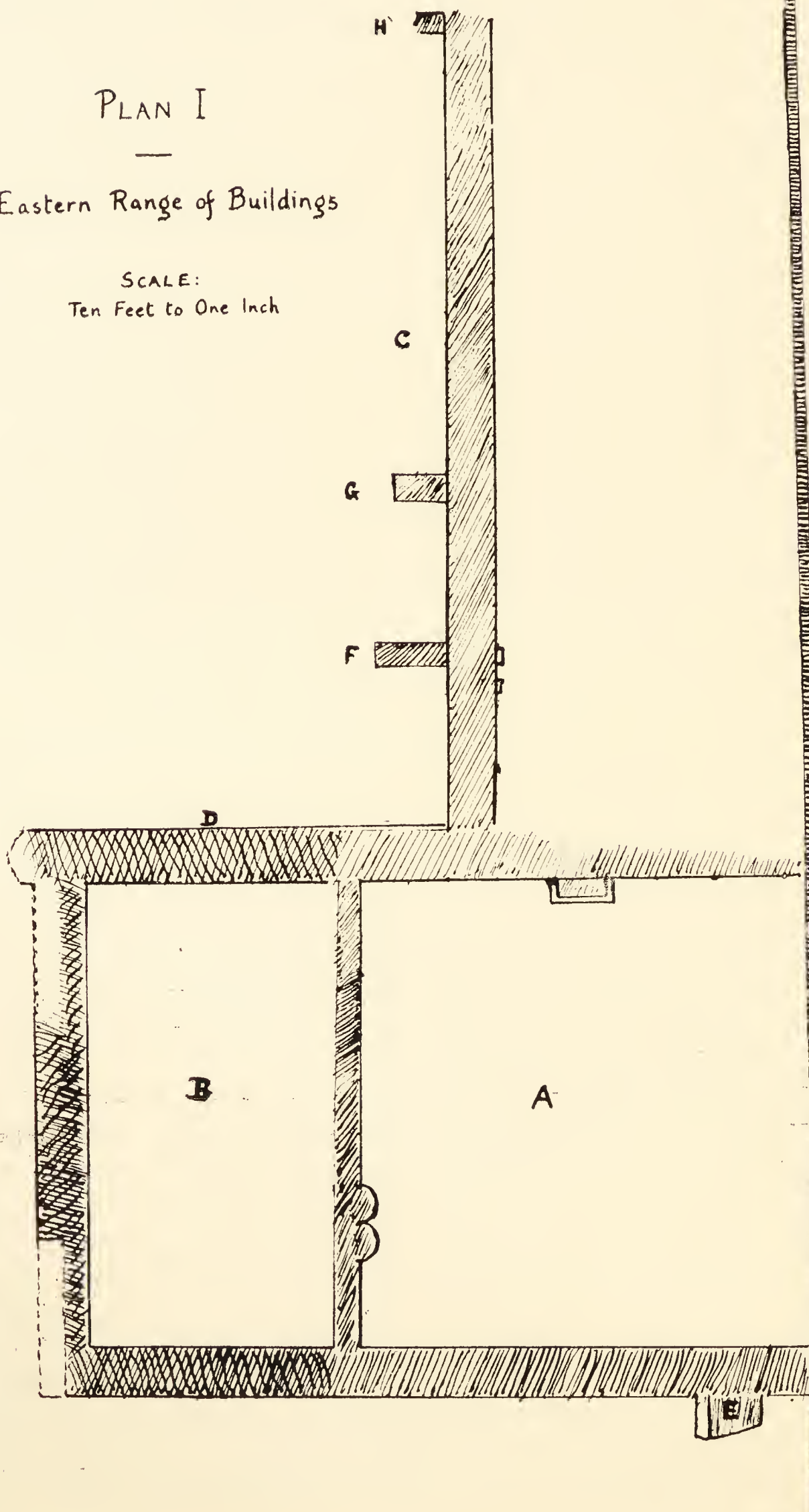
The small scraps of building (Plan I: F, G, H) to the east of the long wall C are more probably connected with the later cottages than anything else. F represents the top of a drain.

What we thought to be the long eastern wall of the claustral buildings (Fig. II) came to an end on the south, because here it had been destroyed by draining operations, cottage building, and so forth, and a large accumulation of rubbish was piled up at this point. At a point 31 ft. 6 in. from the broken end of the wall we came upon the north wall (Plan II: A) of a large building, to which we devoted our attention for the rest of the time at our disposal.

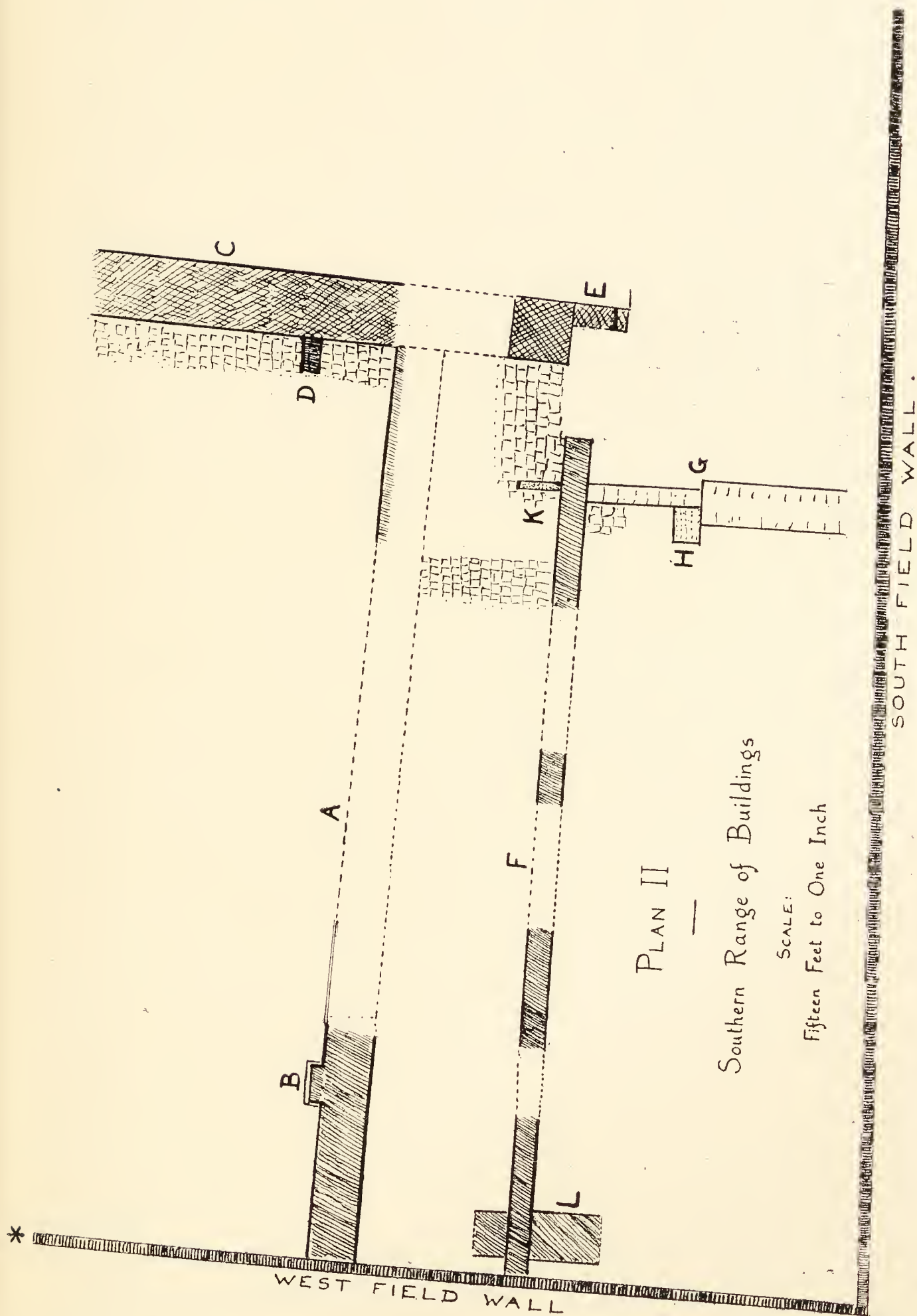
The north wall of this building was standing to the height of 1 ft. 9 in., and was of good masonry of twelfth-century type. It

PLAN I
—
Eastern Range of Buildings

SCALE:
Ten Feet to One Inch



*
WEST FIELD WALL (continuation from point * on Plan II, but as seen from the North)



was 2 ft. 10 in. thick, and at a point eleven feet from the west wall of the field was a buttress (Plan II: B) measuring 2 ft. 6 in. from east to west. The footing stood out fourteen inches from the wall, the first step nine inches, and the top seven inches: apparently, therefore, it was the base of a flat pilaster buttress (Fig. IV). It stands exactly opposite to the broken end of the long east wall already described, so that it would appear that that wall did not quite extend to this point.

Beyond the buttress, going eastwards, the wall continued for a distance of 2 ft. 10 in., and then was broken away; the footing continued by itself for another seven feet and then disappeared altogether. Drainage work was responsible for this. One of the men who had been engaged in that work some years ago remembered that he had broken through a flight of steps eight feet wide somewhere about this point. We tried to find traces of these steps, without success. Twenty-six feet from the point where the footing ended we picked up the face of this wall again. Here were about six courses of ashlar, rising to the height of 2 ft. 8 in., with about six courses of stones. The length of this section was fourteen feet and ended in a cross wall running north and south (Plan II: C).

This eastern cross wall (Fig. V) is built on the sloping ground, and though it rises to six or eight courses at the junction, it comes to the surface after twenty-one feet. Even the footing ends. All attempts to trace this wall further north failed, and trenches to east and west, in the hope of finding a parallel wall of the same type, were also ineffectual. It is a well-built wall, with a good footing on each side. There is no sign of bonding between it and the north wall of the building, which at this point shows signs of re-building.

This east wall is four feet in thickness and is by far the thickest wall so far discovered. On its western side, 5 ft. 8 in. from the north wall of the building, there runs out a small parallel wall only one foot in thickness (Plan II: D). This was only discovered on our last day, and so could only be traced for two feet. Both north and south of this and running along the western side of the east wall is a paving of thin flags. How far this extends we had not time to discover. The very thick east wall continues southward past the north wall of the building. We picked it up again at a point eight feet further on. Here a section four feet by four feet was observed, four feet wide. Next came a doorstep (Plan II: E), which may have been 3 ft. 2 in. wide, with a ten-inch side post. The latter seemed to be fairly clear on one side of the doorway



FIG. V. Eastern cross wall.



FIG. VI. Second section of central wall of south building, from the west.

but not on the other. The doorstep was three inches below the level of the wall. Here the broad wall seemed to end, but appeared to have been continued by a narrower wall 1 ft. 6 in. thick, running southward.

A trench driven southward from the north wall of this building brought us to a long narrow wall (Plan II: F) which runs nearly parallel to the north wall. It begins 23 ft. from the south end of the west wall of the field, and is 1 ft. 6 in. wide throughout its length, which extends nearly to the great east wall just described. There was not time to excavate it in its entirety, but sections were taken showing its continuous course. The second section from the west was of large blocks of masonry with thick mortar, and was 2 ft. 9 in. in height, including a footing of $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Fig. VI).

At its eastern end it is joined by a cross wall (Plan II: G) which has been considerably robbed. It was traced to within two feet of the south field wall, only one course of it remaining. For a distance of 8 ft. 3 in. it consists of single stones only, seven inches wide, and then it broadens out to a maximum width of 2 ft. 9 in. for a length of ten feet. The broad part has fairly large stones on each side and is depressed in the middle. It is evidently a reconstruction, because half the capital of a circular pillar has been placed edgewise on the eastern side, near the field wall. On the west, at the point where this wall narrows, a large flagstone (Plan II: H) 2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. has been inserted. Opposite the point where the cross wall joins the long inner wall is what appears to be the very worn threshold (Plan II: K) of a doorway, 2 ft. 6 in. wide. Between the long narrow wall and the great north wall were found abundant traces of flagged flooring. Here, too, was found a fallen section of a small arch with dogtooth moulding.

At the western end of the long narrow wall, at a point 1 ft. 8 in. before it reaches the field wall, is what appears to be a cross wall (Plan II: L). On the south side of the narrow wall it is 2 ft. 10 in. wide, and on the north side 2 ft. 8 in. It was discovered just before filling in, but it was traced to a distance of two feet northward and five feet southward. What remained of it was two feet high.

Among the loose rubbish were found many dressed stones. Some of them were in such good condition that one was drawn to the conclusion that at the time of the destruction some parts of the building must have been fairly new.

There were many flat stone roofing tiles. They certainly did not come from the burnt cottages on the site, because they were thatched. Since, however, tiles of this nature have been used in

Hampole down to the present day; it would be rash to say that they came from the roof of the convent buildings.

A large quantity of broken stems of clay pipes led to humorous comment on the part of the workmen, but we were told that there had been a clay pipe factory on or near the spot in the eighteenth century.

A number of pieces of pottery, *e.g.* the neck of a seventeenth-century Bellarmine jug, a fragment of dark red Dutch pottery of the same period, and many later fragments, illustrated the later occupation of the site. Three fragments and part of a handle of a jug with green and brown glaze, and five fragments of different vessels in dark brown glaze, made up the total of the mediæval pottery. One small scrap of plaster, painted blue, had come from some wall or other in the convent, and that was all.

As a result of our fortnight's excavation we can only offer very tentative conclusions. We appear to have found the eastern end of the conventual enclosure, with an added building at the north end. It would be tempting to hint at the house of the prioress. The two walls at the south end of the field suggest the north outer wall of the chancel, and the north wall of the choir. But against this there is the very solid east wall, which seems to make this suggestion very doubtful. Evidently the greater part of the remains of the priory lie under the village green. If our suggestions about the two walls at the south of the field should be correct, then the rest of the choir lies under a public path and a blacksmith's shop. But these questions must be left to further excavation to solve.

A PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION IN KNARESBOROUGH IN 1628.

By W. A. ATKINSON.

In Januray, 1627-8, Charles the First, in dire straits for money, having tried with little success to raise it by a variety of arbitrary devices, issued writs for the summoning of his third parliament on the 17th of March. Knaresborough was then privileged to return two representatives, and the election for that town was made on Saturday, the 3rd of March.¹ There were three candidates, and the following list, preserved among the Slingsby papers now in the custody of the Knaresborough Urban Council, records the voters and the distribution of the votes at that election. It is evidently not an official record; and the probability is that it is a memorandum made for future reference by the election agent of the defeated candidate, Henry Slingsby. It is simply endorsed "Burgesses Knaresbroughe."

The names of such burgesses as weere for Mr Henry Slingsby ag^t Henry Benson in this Elecon.

A.

B. Benson, Richard.

D. Darnton, Willm.

H. Henlake, Mathew.
Higgins, Willm.

M. Mathew, Peter.
Munckton, Richard.

N. Nickson, Thomas.
Nussey, Robert.

P. Pearson, Robert.

R. Richardson, ffrancis.
Readshaw, Robert.

W. Wrightson, Anthony.
West, Richard.

Walkington, Richard.
[& wyddowes eight²]

Y. Yeadon, John.

The names of such as the Bailiffe did except ag^t & did not c'tifie:

Richard Darnetō. Cler.

Tho: Wakefeild.

Rbt. Knowles.

Wm Cawdwell.

Mathew Moore.

eight Wyddowes.

The names of such Burgesses who have elected Sr Richard Hutton & Henry Benson this third day of March 1627 for Burgesses in the pliam^t.

A. Anderson, Robert.

B. Benson, Peter.

Burrell, Robert

Burton, Christopher.

Busby, John.

Broadbelt, Josua.

Benson, W^m. Exc: ag^t

Benson, Peter yong^r

Baiteson, Lawrence.

¹ *Interim Rep. on House of Commons. Personnel, 1264-1832* (1932), p. 94.

² A faint line is marked through these words in original MS.

Burton, Willm̄. Exc: ag ^t	M. Mushe, Thomas, sen.
Bell, Richard.	S. Salmon, Edward.
C. Carter, Robert.	Spurrett, Thomas.
Cundall, Willm̄. Exc: ag ^t	Simpson, Myles. Exc: ag ^t
Conyers, W ^m . Exc: ag ^t	T. Thorpe, Peter.
D. Dixon, Richard.	Thompson, Henry. Exc: ag ^t
E. Emondson, Marmaduke.	Thompson, Willm̄. Exc: ag ^t
Exc: ag ^t	W. Whincopp, Willm̄. Exc: ag ^t
ff. Feild, John.	Wilkes, Dionis.
Flint, Thomas.	Wilkes, Richard. Exc: ag ^t
H. Haycricge, Myles.	Y. Yeadon, Myles. Exc: ag ^t
I. Iles, Henry.	

A few notes upon this election may be of interest.

The Candidates.

Sir Richard Hutton was the son of Sir Richard Hutton, the Judge, who built Goldsborough Hall about 1620. The former was knighted July 17, 1625. He had sat as one of the members for Knaresborough in the last four parliaments.¹ In the next election, that for the Short Parliament of 1640, he was defeated by Slingsby,² and he did not again represent Knaresborough. He was fatally wounded at Sherburn in October, 1645.

Henry Benson, baptized at Knaresborough in 1579,³ was the elder son of Peter Benson, who is named among the electors. Henry Benson had sat for Knaresborough in the last parliament, and in addition to winning a seat in the election under notice, he was also returned to the Short and Long Parliaments.⁴ He was expelled from the latter in 1641 for having sold "protections" to persons who were not his menial servants, whereby they were exempted from arrest in civil process while parliament was sitting.⁵ This abuse of privilege was not a new one, but Benson's case seems to have been a very flagrant one, and he is said to have sold his protections for so small a sum as 16 or 17 shillings.⁶ He was declared unfit to sit in parliament either then or thereafter. He was subsequently arrested, and was imprisoned in York Castle, where he died, apparently, in 1643.⁷

Henry Slingsby was the eldest surviving son of Sir Henry Slingsby, kt. Born in 1601, he was at the time of this election

¹ Bean: *Parliamentary Represent. Six North. Counties*, p. 885.

² *Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby* (1836), pp. 50, 63.

³ Y.A.S. Rec. Series, vol. lv, p. x, Intro.

⁴ Bean, p. 885. Slingsby, pp. 50, 63.

⁵ Pink: *Yorks. County Mag.*, ii, 207. Bean, p. 885.

⁶ Townsend: *Memoirs of House of Commons*, i, 250.

⁷ Y.A.S. Rec. Series, vol. lv, p. x.

about 26 years of age and unmarried. In 1638 he was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, and in the same year he commenced a diary, which he continued for ten years, in which he chiefly relates his experiences in the Civil War. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 8th June, 1658. He appears to have sat for Knaresborough, along with Hutton, in the parliament of 1625¹; but he was not again returned until the spring of 1640, when the Short Parliament was summoned. Late in the same year he was elected to the Long Parliament, from which he was discharged and disabled, September 6, 1642, for neglecting the service of the House,² etc., in other words for being an active, militant Royalist—a political offence very different from Benson's delinquency, though the resolution of the Commons even in Benson's case may not have been entirely free from political bias.

The Franchise.

The two members for Knaresborough were at this time nominally elected by the freeholders of 88 burgage houses in the borough, each of which paid a "free socage" rent of one penny a year to the Crown.³ Copyholders, leaseholders, and tenants, as such, had no votes. Though the number of burgages was nominally fixed, the votes varied in number slightly, as the houses themselves decayed and became uninhabitable, or were rebuilt, or were structurally divided, or united with others; and though most of the burgage houses were quite well known, there were always a few of doubtful and debatable status. In addition to these uncertainties as to the houses themselves, there were many complexities and niceties of ownership. Add to these the personal disqualifications for voting, and it will be seen that there were many grounds upon which a voter might be "excepted against" by one candidate or another. The bailiff or under-bailiff of the borough, who acted as returning officer, had therefore many opportunities of garbling the votes, and a free and unbiased return was not to be expected, especially when, as was often the case, the bailiff was the servant or agent of one of the candidates. In the list given above no fewer than eleven of those who voted for Hutton and Benson were excepted against; yet they were all allowed to vote, as is evident from their inclusion in the list. On the other side five of Slingsby's supporters, in addition to eight widows, were successfully objected to, leaving

¹ Bean, p. 885.

² Bean, p. 885. Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxiii, 374.

³ Hargrove, *Hist. of Knaresborough*, 4th Ed. (1789), p. 38. "Survey of

Knaresbrough, 1611" (Ministerial Accounts, MS. ref. "number 43, bundle y^e first"). Copy, "Slingsby Papers."

him but fifteen votes as against thirty-one given to his opponents. As women were not qualified to vote, it is not easy to discover why they were entered on the list. Even with these widows included, the whole list enumerates only 59 voters, leaving about 30 not accounted for, apparently a large number in a constituency so small and open to canvass. The discrepancy is probably to be mainly accounted for by the multiple holding of burgages by a few owners, each of whom could only vote in respect of one house, seeing that there is evidence that about this time Peter Benson owned perhaps a dozen houses. According to his son's will, Peter mortgaged this number of burgages to Thomas Stockdale of Bilton Park before 1641.¹ Writing to Mr. A. C. Benson, the late Bishop Stubbs said: "I have a special interest in Henry [Benson], who in 1641 anticipated most of the stratagems of modern days in the Parliamentary contest at Knaresborough."² It would have been interesting to know what stratagems the Bishop had in mind; probably he was thinking only of the treating to which Slingsby refers in his diary.³ In any case the fictitious transference of burgages for voting purposes, which was well established in Knaresborough fifty years later,⁴ does not appear to have been one of these stratagems in 1628. The tendering of the widows' votes seems conclusive upon that point. The doubtful legality of the subterfuge at that time may have been the deterrent to its use; but even in this list there are, perhaps, grounds for a suspicion that it might be being tried. It will be observed that a good proportion of the names "excepted against" are duplicated—Benson, Burton, Thompson, Wilkes, Yeadon, and Darnton. This suggests the possibilities of family relationships, and of "gifts" or other intimate compacts which it would be peculiarly difficult to make exception to, especially before a partisan official. Be that as it may, a detailed comparison of this list with other documents confirms the dominating influence of the Benson interest in this election, at a time when the Slingsby family might well be assumed to have had the "patronage" of the borough.

The Burgages and the Voters.

Although the admission or rejection of a burgage vote, and even the status of the burgage itself, was at each election a matter for the immediate ruling of the returning officer, there was a recognised

¹ Henry Benson's will, proved at York 1643.

² Y.A.S. Rec. Series, vol. lv, p. ix, Intro.

³ Pp. 63-64.

⁴ A later Election List, "Slingsby Papers."

list of burgage houses, which served as a standard, and for any departure from this a special reason ought to be assigned. This list was a Survey of the Borough made by commissioners in 1611 under an order of Henry, eldest son of James I, to whom the Honour of Knaresborough had been granted. The survey includes the copyhold "wastes," built and unbuilt, as well as the freehold burgages—a record of about two hundred houses and plots.

The burgage houses were, as we might expect, sprinkled about the old parts of the town—the High Street, the Market Place, Briggate, Cheapside, Gracious Street, Castlegate, Kirkgate, and Finkle Street.

Peter Benson was by far the largest owner of burgage houses, and they were well distributed. He was a substantial yeoman, a busy man in the town's affairs, and had been under-bailiff and collector of the borough rents. He gave a house and garden adjoining the churchyard for the Grammar School which the Rev. Dr. Chaloner founded in 1616,¹ and in 1630 he was noted as one who ought to compound for refusing knighthood.² He was buried at Knaresborough 2nd January, 1640–1.³ His capital messuage was situated on the north side of the High Street, and the grounds at the back enclosed part of the old town's ditch.⁴ It cannot have been far from what is now Raw Gap, and was probably opposite the present Post Office.

William Conyers was a grandson of Peter Benson whose daughter, Jane, married Marmaduke Conyers.⁵ William made his will in February, 1657–8, and devised the burgage in which he then dwelt to his son, Peter.⁶ Its position has not been ascertained.

Richard Benson would probably be a relation of Peter, but apparently not a near one. His house was a little lower down the High Street. He had as his neighbour on the west Richard Carter, who was a tenant of the prebendary of Knaresborough.⁷ The prebend, which lies around the church, has a patch of ground on the opposite side of the High Street,⁸ and this gives a clue to the position of these two houses.

In 1611 Peter Thorpe, jun., was the owner of two burgages, one in the lowest part of the High Street on the north side, and the other in Finkle Street. The latter was in the occupation of Peter Thorpe, the elder.⁷ In the following year Peter Thorpe, "yeoman,"

¹ *V.C.H.*, i, 482. *Y.A.S. Rec. Series*, vol. lv, p. ix.

² *Y.A.S. Rec. Series*, lxi, 107.

³ *Yorks. Co. Mag.*, ii, 232. *Y.A.S. Rec. Series*, vol. lv, p. ix.

⁴ Survey, 1611.

⁵ *Y.A.S. Rec. Series*, vol. lv, p. x.

⁶ Collins: *Knares. Wills*, ii, 230 (Surtees).

⁷ Survey, 1611.

⁸ Calvert: *Hist of Knares.*, p. 145.

probably the elder, sold a burgage in the High Street adjoining or near the one in Finkle Street, to Robert Anderson, one of the voters in 1628, whose son devised it in 1685 to Peter Anderson.¹ Peter Thorpe, the vendor, was probably acting as a trustee, and he seems to have been closely related to, or associated with, the Bensons.

John Busby had also two burgages. The house in which he dwelt was on the west side of the main (north) entrance to the Market Place from the High Street—perhaps, indeed, quite in the Market Place, and nearly opposite the old Bull Ring.² The other house was next on the east to Peter Benson's capital messuage in the High Street, and was occupied in 1611 by Christopher Moore and Michael Burne.

The two Darntons present interesting cases. William Darnton, who voted for Slingsby, was the son of John Darnton, who in his will, proved in 1604, gave all his interest in a burgage to William. The Rev. Henry Darnton, rector of Goldsborough from 1591 to 1624, was another son of John, and Richard Darnton, clerk, of Tanfield, was a son of the rector.³ In 1611 William Darnton was the owner of three burgages, all apparently in the upper part of the High Street. The first of these stood east of Wintringham Hall, a house then belonging to the Plumpton family, and still known by the old name. Wintringham Hall is on the west side of the entrance to what is now the Oddfellows' Yard, and Darnton's first burgage must almost certainly have stood on the other side of the entrance. The second burgage was adjacent on the east. The third was apparently on the other side of the High Street, near the upper, or eastern, entrance to the Market Place by way of Silver Street. The last was newly built, and there were a little garth and an orchard attached to it, and they had encroached a little upon the "King's high street."⁴

The Rev. Henry Darnton was at the same time the owner of a house still higher in the High Street, beyond the town's ditch, and in fact in that continuation of the street which is now known as York Place. This was Burnand Hall, the ancient capital messuage of a family of that name, and of some distinction in the earlier history of the town. It is now the headquarters of the Knaresborough Conservative Club. But large and important as the house

¹ "Slingsby Papers."

(Mr. Kaye's Extracts in Y.A.S. Library).

² Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 176, Plan.

³ *Knares. Wills*, i, 238; ii, 5.

⁴ Survey, 1611.

Knares. Court Rolls, 21 & 22 Jas. I

had once been, it was falling into decay in 1611, and was then in the occupation of no fewer than five tenants. The house was one of those of which the status was doubtful; the Commissioners say "whether the same be freehold or copyhold land, we cannot certainly set downe, albeit he (*i.e.* Rev. Henry Darnton) sheweth unto us one Indenture of Bargaine and Saile to him made of the Premisses by S^r Francis Trapps, knight, which indenture beareth date y^e 27th July, Anno Regni R^{is} n^{ri} Jacobi Quinto."¹ In 1619 Henry Darnton conveyed the house by indenture to his son, Richard,² and it was the latter whose vote for Slingsby was disallowed by the returning officer in this election.

Upon what grounds the vote was rejected is not quite clear. The ownership seems above suspicion. The status of the house, whether a freehold burgage or merely a copyhold, may have been still in doubt. Or the house may have become yet more ruinous than it was in 1611, and been disqualified as unfit for habitation. If this disaster had not yet overtaken it, it did befall at a later time. In a lease of Burnand Hall drawn up about ninety years later it is stated that the site had lain unbuilt for many years, "whereby the votes for members to serve in parliament have been lost," and the lessee covenants to rebuild the house so that the votes may be reclaimed.² This was done, and for another century or more the house was always accepted as a true burgage. There is, perhaps, one other possible reason for exception. Richard Darnton, as a clergyman, may have been disfranchised on the grounds that the clergy were at this time represented as an "estate" of the realm in Convocation. The objection may not have been a just or generally valid one; but locally it may have been a sufficient excuse for the presiding officer's ruling. There does not appear to be any instance in this Knaresborough list of a clerical vote being accepted. In this connection we may take into consideration the vote of William Whincopp. He was the eldest son of the Rev. John Whincopp, who held the rectory of Copgrove from 1583 to 1637, and the record of his christening in 1587 is one of the first entries in the Copgrove Registers.³ In 1611 John Whincopp, clerk, held a burgage next to that of Peter Thorpe in the lower part of the High Street, a widow being the tenant. It was evidently transferred to William Whincopp in his father's lifetime.

Joshua Broadbelt, mercer, was the owner of a burgage on the south-east side of the Market Place, near the Silver Street entrance,

¹ Survey, 1611.

² "Slingsby Papers."

³ Major: *Memorials of Copgrove*, pp. 47, 107.

and probably opposite the Market Cross.¹ In 1616, and perhaps earlier, he held the patronage of the parish church from the prebendary, and presented William Broadbelt, M.A., who was vicar, in succession to the Rev. Percival Broadbelt, from 1616 to 1636.²

Matthew Henlack claimed to own five burgages in 1611. Upon one of these his "mansion house" stood with a barn, a kiln, and an orchard full of fruit trees, especially cherry trees, for which at a later time Knaresborough was rather noted.³ This house was probably in or near Cass's Gardens, north of Cheapside.⁴ The account of the other burgages, for which, being unbuilt, there would be no votes, is interesting in that it carries them back to a period before electoral representation had been granted to Knaresborough:

"And he claimeth by the same deed 4 other burgages now unbuilt which were sometime y^e lands of one Hill, and were burgages unbuilt in the first year of King Henry the Eight, for which he hath a deed of that date."

William Higgins was a Goldsborough man, and his burgage was probably in Finkle Street. In 1611 Thomas Mushe owned two burgages, both in Briggate. Readshaw's burgage was in Kirkgate, as appears by his will in 1637, in which he leaves it to his son Thomas, when of age.⁵ The Readshaws were millers, and the voter was probably at the time of the election lessee of the Knaresborough soke mills under Sir Henry Slingsby, the candidate's father. Francis Richardson's burgage was in Finkle Street, and was "bequeathed" to his wife by his will made in 1634.⁶

Thomas Nickson's burgage has interesting associations. There are two references to it in the Survey of 1611. In the first of these it is described in its proper succession in the High Street, but following the return journey from east to west along the south side of the street. It was then a house, barn, and garth "used sometimes for y^e court house for the king's tenants of y^e Mannor of Knaresbrough, and lyeth west upon y^e orchard of the same Thomas Pickeringe, but by what tytle or whether y^e same be freehold or copyhold land or belonging to his highness we cannot present." Its position may be located by the two facts that it was in the High Street, and that the next building in the Survey, also in the High Street, was a waste immediately west of Gracious Street, which connects with the south side of the High Street at

¹ Survey, 1611. *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 176, Plan.

² Slingsby Paper, quoting Bp. of Chester's Register.

³ Survey, 1611.

⁴ *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 176, Plan.

⁵ *Knares. Wills*, ii, 153.

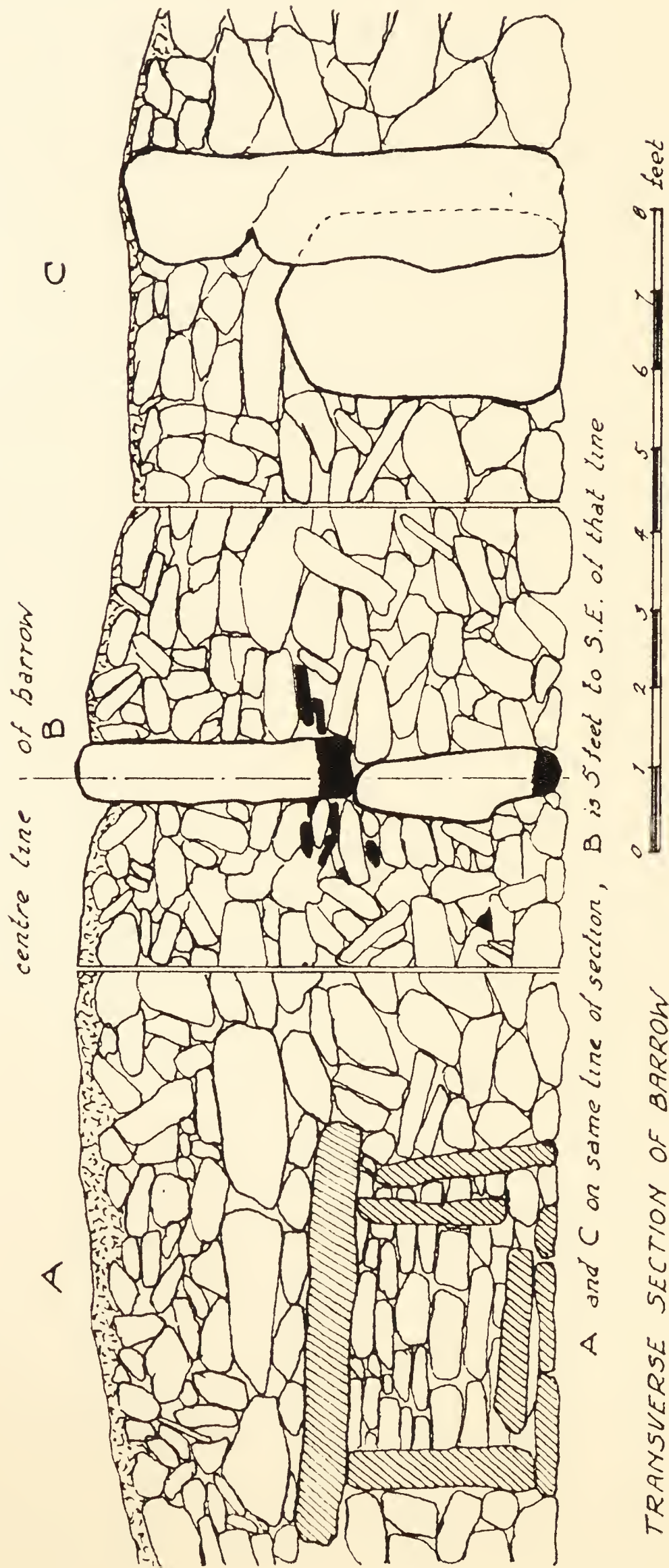
⁶ "Slingsby Papers."

this point. Nickson's burgage was, therefore, on the east side of Gracious Street—the corner house in fact—a position now occupied by the Urban Council offices built in the present century. The second reference occurs in the description of Gracious Street itself, where the first house is a half burgage owned by Mary Thompson, widow, which was “south upon the house of Thomas Nixon,” the latter being of course part of the High Street. The identification is confirmed by a revising note in the margin of a later copy of the Survey, made probably for electoral purposes about the year 1700, where opposite the name of Mary Thompson is placed the correction “Francis Dickinson & the Quakers.”¹ Hargrove says that the Quakers “erected” a Meeting House in Gracious Street in 1701.² That date is cut in the lintel of the door of the house immediately adjacent to the Council's premises in Gracious Street. It appears, therefore, that the Knaresborough Urban Council offices occupy a site which was used by the governing authority of the borough, at least intermittently, three hundred years ago.

Some measure of identification of the burgages of other voters in this election in 1628 might be made, but those which have been already given will suffice to show the kind of evidence which is available and the use which may be made of it. The identifications are in many cases only approximate, and may seem of little value. It is better, however, to make approximations upon evidence which can be cited and examined than to aspire to an apparent precision which really involves a guess. Examinations of the title deeds of individual burgages would not only complete the identification of those particular houses, but would often also establish that of others in the vicinity. The writer has been privileged to inspect a few such deeds, and he has found the information previously gained by collation of so many general records, of the kinds made use of in this paper, in a town so small and little changing as Knaresborough, very useful. Though the labour seems, upon a narrow view, to be applied to buildings of little interest in themselves, it is impossible to separate them from their personal associations; and the attempt to put the buildings in their true relations to others, in place, time, kind, and function, involves far-reaching and instructive enquiries into the archæology, history, and evolution of towns.

¹ “Slingsby Papers.”

² *Hist. Knares.*, p. 36.



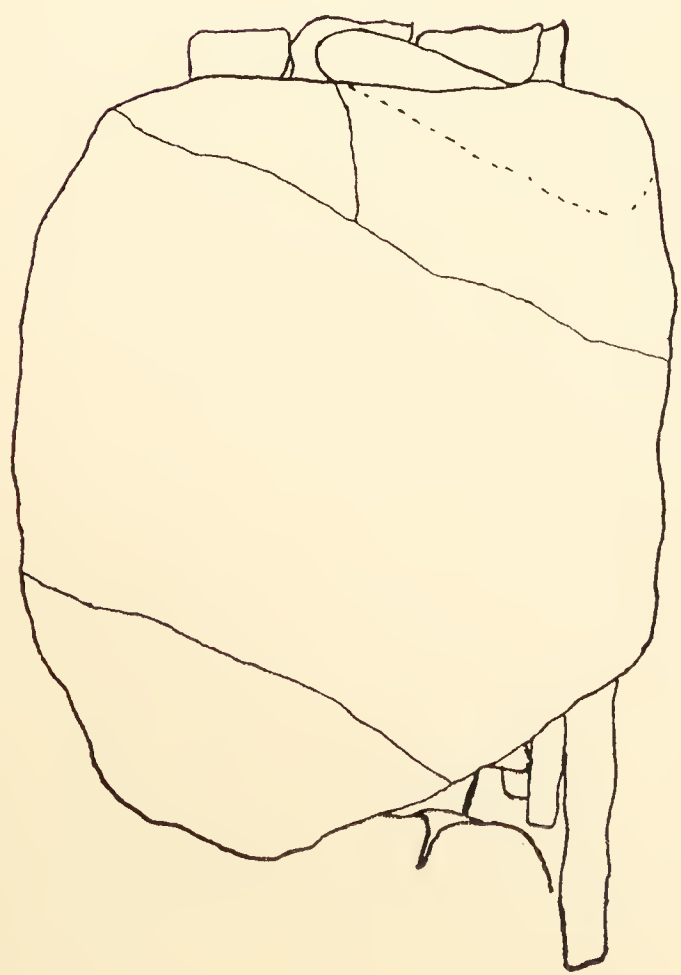
STRUCTURAL DETAILS OF A LONG BARROW ON BLACK HILL, BRADLEY MOOR, WEST YORKSHIRE.

By ALLAN BUTTERFIELD.

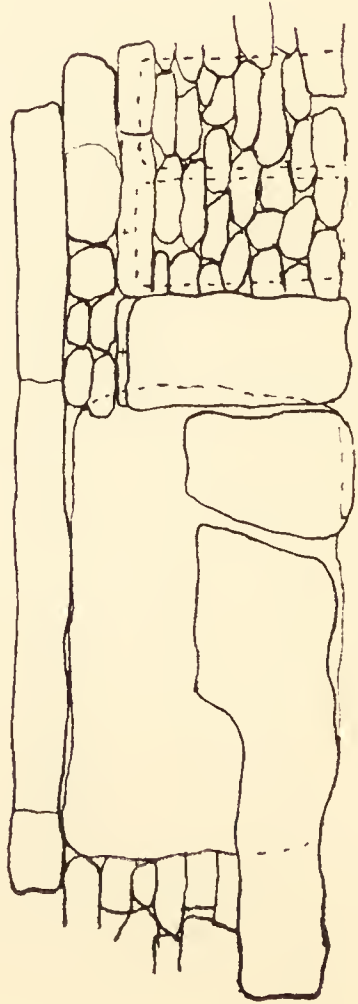
In 1908, Mr. J. J. Brigg, of Kildwick Hall, drew attention to a group of barrows on Bradley Moor, of which this is one (*Bradford Sci. Journal*, 1908, pp. 156-8). A further description of this barrow was made by Dr. Raistrick (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxx, 1931), incorporating evidence provided by my excavations made during that year. As this is the only long barrow that has been recorded on the Pennines, and as its detailed structure incorporates many features of great importance for comparative studies, it has been suggested that further details of these structures should be made available.

In deciding the portion of the barrow to be excavated, I was influenced by the finding of a vertical pillar-like stone, the top just level with the top of the barrow, placed sixty feet from the south-east end, and directly on the centre line. On clearing away surrounding stone, this pillar stone was found to be 3 ft. 6 ins. high and roughly 18 inches by 8 inches in section, the greatest width being placed along the axis of the barrow. The base of this stone and many of the stones adjacent were fire-marked. Its base rested on the top of a second pillar stone of more irregular shape, 2 ft. 6 ins. high and about 9 inches by 4½ inches section. The base and adjacent stones were again fire-burned, while the rest of the material of the barrow was unburned.

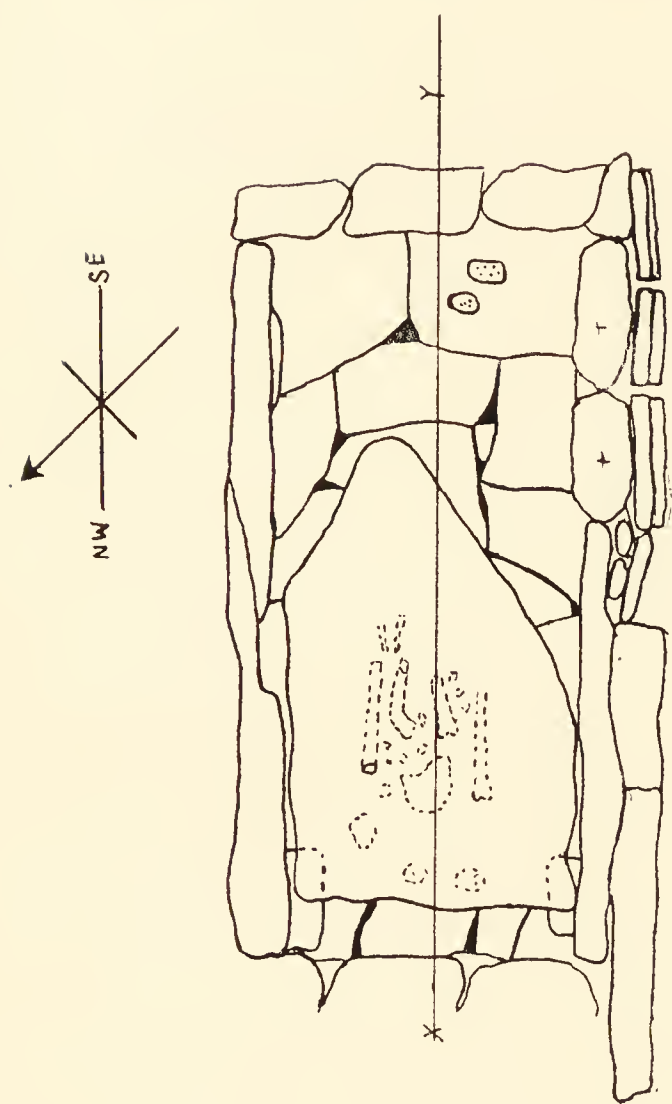
The cist with burial was placed north-east of, and parallel to, the axis of the barrow, with its south-east end sixty feet from the end of the barrow, and therefor in direct line with the two pillar stones. The centre of the cist was seven feet from the centre of the vertical stones. The cist was approximately 6 ft. 6 ins. by 3 ft., and covered by a single large stone 7 ft. by 5 ft. 10 ins. across the widest part, and varying from six to eight inches thick. The north-east wall of the cist was a single slab on edge, 6 ft. 6 ins. long and from 1 ft. 10 ins. to 2 ft. 4 ins. deep. The south-west side had a similar flagstone 3 ft. 10 ins. long and 1 ft. 8 ins. to 2 ft. 4 ins. deep, placed on edge at the west half of the side, the side being completed



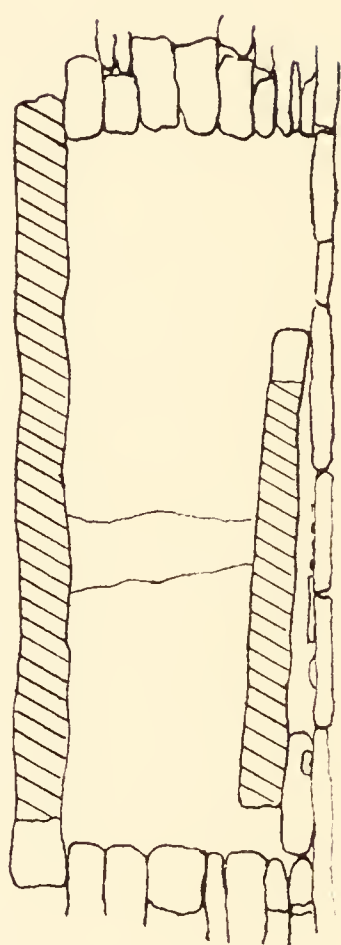
a. PLAN OF CIST, COVER STONE IN POSITION



c. S.W. SIDE OF CIST WITH TWO UPRIGHT STONES REMOVED



b. PLAN OF CIST, COVER STONE REMOVED



d. SECTION OF CIST THROUGH X Y LINE AB

FIG. II.

to the south-east corner by rough walling against which four vertical slabs of stone were placed, their position and size being shown in Fig. II, c. Outside the first large slab a long slab was laid.

The two ends of the cist were roughly walled. Across the south corner a piece of rough gritstone, 6 ins. thick, was placed as a corbel to carry a corner of the cover stone (Fig. 2, a). The floor of the cist was made of thinner flags roughly fitted in the manner of "crazy paving," and at the north-west end was a large slab, square at the north-west end and pointed at the south-east end, approximately 4 ft. 6 ins. long and 2 ft. 6 ins. wide (Fig. 2, b). The north-west end was raised from the floor by two small chock stones, 4 ins. thick, the pointed end rested on the floor. In the space under it were the human remains, fragments of a skull and limbs, which were determined by Sir A. Keith (listed in *Y.A.J.*, xxx, 1931, p. 253). Most of the bone fragments in addition to the larger bones were from a human cremation. The following is quoted from Sir Arthur Keith's report: "As to the skeleton found in the cist, it is too imperfect to permit me to say anything of the person's racial characteristics. From the femur one infers that the skeleton is of a man about 5 ft. 4 ins. in stature." Referring to the skull, he says, "It is impossible to articulate these fragments and thus reconstruct the skull because the intermediate parts have weathered away. This skeleton I take to be the primary burial—the one which the stone cist was built to contain. Later, cremated remains were buried in the cist."

Dr. Raistrick also supports the theory that the cremated remains belong to a later period (late Bronze Age). There is certain evidence which points to the practice of suttee in Europe, which rests upon the authority of Julius Cæsar (*Brit. Mus. Guide to Ant. of Bronze Age*, p. 14, Intro.). It may be that here at Bradley Moor we have evidence of such practice.

A frequent feature of the true long barrows is the portal, or blind passage, a remnant of the true passage entry to the chambered cists of the early passage graves. In the Bradley barrow the portal is formed by three slabs of stone set on edge, only one of which reached to the surface of the barrow. Two slabs were placed at the south-east side and one at the north-west side of the portal. An interesting feature is the way in which the space between the two sides of the portal had been filled—at the bottom were rough boulders, while towards the top the builders had placed long slabs of stone; on the south-west side of the filling, almost level with the surface of the barrow, were two thin slabs set on edge on the opposite

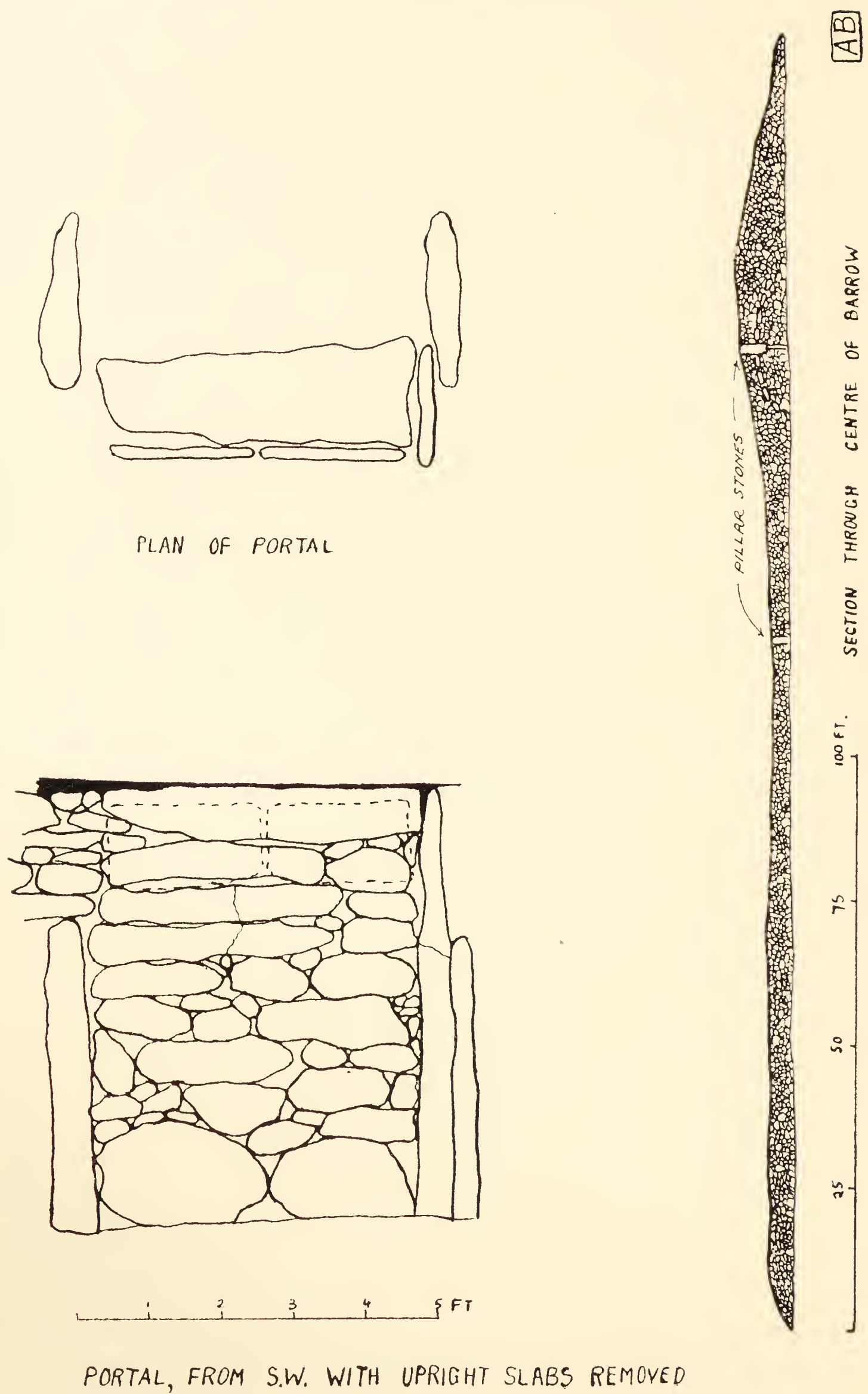


FIG. III.

side of the filling to the cist. The position of these two slabs strongly suggested an additional sealing, and indeed the whole arrangement of the portal filling was evidence of a ceremonial blocking of the portal, followed by the filling of the space between it and the cist.

In addition to the two pillar stones already described another similar pillar stands forty-nine feet further along the main axis of the barrow, and to the north-east. These pillar stones, with evidence of ceremonial fires at their base, must be regarded as of the greatest importance in the structures here described. The pillar stones, portal, and cist structure definitely link this barrow with many of the decadent passage grave barrows of later Neolithic time.

In conclusion, I would like to thank Dr. Raistrick for help and advice given.

OBITUARY.

COLONEL JOHN W. R. PARKER, C.B., F.S.A.

It came as a very great shock to the members of the Yorkshire Archæological Society on the day of the annual meeting, February 25, 1938, to learn that our honoured and much esteemed President, Colonel John Parker, had passed to his rest on the preceding day, owing to a fall in his library on the 22nd. This sad event caused a gloom to pass over those members who attended the meeting, when they learnt that their beloved President, who had not missed one annual meeting since his election in 1913, was no more to be with them.

John William Robinson Parker was born October 6, 1857, the son of Colonel T. G. Parker, J.P., D.L., of Browsholme Hall, by his wife, Mary Ann, eldest daughter and coheir of John Francis Carr of Carr Lodge, Horbury, a descendant of John Carr the architect. He was educated at Bradfield College, Berks., and Sandhurst, and was gazetted as sub-lieutenant in the Princess of Wales' Own Yorkshire Regiment in 1876, afterwards becoming Captain in 1881, and Major in 1890, retiring when second in command in 1896. He served with his regiment in the first Egyptian campaign, and also in Cyprus. As Major in the 3rd Battalion East Lancashire Militia he took part in the Boer War of 1900, and on Christmas day of that year was gazetted Colonel.

On his return home after the war he received a splendid reception at Clitheroe, triumphal arches being erected at several places between that town and Browsholme Hall, where at the lodge gates the horses were taken out of the shafts, and the carriage containing Colonel and Mrs. Parker was drawn along the drive through the park by the tenants from Browsholme, Alkincoates, and Carr Lodge, preceded by Piper Nichols, who played a military march on his pipes.

At the outbreak of the Great War Colonel Parker at once offered his services to the War Office, and was placed in charge of the Territorial Force Records at Hounslow, holding that position from 1915 to 1918, when he was appointed Live Stock Commissioner in the Ministry of Food, which office he held until 1920.

Colonel Parker was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1913, a magistrate for the West Riding of Yorkshire and for Lancashire, a Deputy

Lieutenant for Yorkshire, Patron of St. Helen's Church, Waddington, and was created C.B. in 1910.

On March 11, 1896, Colonel Parker married Gertrude Marion Beatrice, the youngest daughter of the Rev. Canon Burn Murdoch, Vicar of Rivershead and Dunton Green, by whom he had one son, Robert Goulborne Parker, Captain in the Green Howards, who now succeeds to the estates, and two daughters, Miss Jennet Barbara Parker, who, after her mother's death, devoted herself to the care of her father, and the younger daughter, Miss Isabel Mary Beatrix, who in 1931 married Eric W. Loyd, Esq.

To his very great sorrow the wife to whom he was devoted died September 11, 1927, and it seemed to his friends as if he never completely recovered from the shock that the loss of his wife caused him. They were indeed a very happy and united couple.

The annual Rifle Meeting at Bisley was always looked forward to and much enjoyed by Colonel Parker, he himself being an excellent shot.

Rock-gardening at Browsholme was one of his favourite pursuits, and many of his friends have admired the beautiful rock-garden, with a stream running through it, which he created there.

Colonel Parker loved Browsholme, which came into his family through the marriage of Edmund Parker, son of Giles Parker, of Horrockford, with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Redmaine by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert Parker of Browsholme, who died in 1547. Thus Browsholme has been in that family in unbroken descent for close upon four hundred years. It was always a great pleasure to our late President to receive interested visitors, especially archæological societies, at the Hall, and to show them its treasures.

The funeral took place at Waddington Church on February 28, 1938, and was attended by Mr. Crossley, Colonel Kitson Clark, and other members of our Society.

It was as an antiquary that Colonel Parker was best known to the members of this Society. He was elected a member on November 22, 1888, and became President in succession to Sir George J. Armytage at the annual meeting on January 31, 1913, so that he had just completed twenty-five years in that position.

In 1907 he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, on which he served as a member of Council and as Vice-President.

His very valuable research work has given to our Record Series three volumes of *Yorkshire Fines, 1218-1272*; *Lay Subsidy Rolls*,

I Ed. III, for the N. Riding and City of York, in *Miscellanea*, Vol. II.

Colonel Parker presided at the Jubilee dinner held at York on October 23, 1913, and was looking forward to the celebration of the seventy-fifth year of the Society's existence. He was a most regular attender at the quarterly meetings of the Council, and also at the summer excursions, and his genial presence at these gatherings will be sadly missed.

He was elected a member of the Yorkshire Tykes' Club in 1907, and was Arch-Tyke in 1911 and 1934.

In addition to the work he did for us, Colonel Parker was elected President of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society in 1913, and of the similar Society in Lancashire, also of the Chetham Society and the Harleian Society, a Vice-President of the Surtees Society, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, President of the Bleasdale Preservation Society and a Member of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, the Blackburn Antiquarian Society, the Pipe Roll Society, the Thoresby Society, and in 1920 a member of the Ancient Monuments Board, a position for which his wide knowledge eminently fitted him.

He calendared and edited two volumes of the early Lancashire Assize Rolls, Lancashire Palatine Plea Rolls, and the Parish Registers of Thirsk and Waddington, and wrote a paper on Bolland in 1926.

Colonel Parker was chairman of the Roman Antiquities Committee of the Yorkshire Archæological Society and took much interest in the work and excavations of that branch of research.

He was also a prominent Churchman, a member of the Church Assembly, Chairman of the Northern Provincial Council for the Care of Churches, and a member of the Bradford and Blackburn Diocesan Advisory Committees. As a member of the Arts Club, Dover Street, London, he took an active part in the management.

As he himself once wrote of a fellow-member "For us, who knew him, lives the cherished memory of a wise counsellor, the loyal fellow-worker, the good companion, the devout churchman, the friend whose passing leaves us poor indeed."

J.W.W.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE, 1938.

EDITED BY MARY KITSON CLARK.

WEST RIDING.

ADEL. During the autumn and winter of 1937–8 excavations were continued in the field on the east side of the Adel–Eccup Road. They were conducted by Mr. B. W. J. Kent, F.S.A. Scot., under the auspices of the Leeds Roman Research Committee, and members of the Harrogate Group of the Yorkshire Archæological Society gave welcome help throughout the season. A trench 353 feet in length was cut, running due south from the boundary fence on the north side, parallel at 80 feet from the west wall of the field along the highway. The southern end of the trench reached a well-defined ridge running north and south across the field. The northern part of the trench for two hundred feet shewed little trace of Roman occupation, but at 211 feet a quarry was encountered, from which a large boulder had been removed. In the filling of the quarry was Roman pottery of Antonine date and the first clay roofing tile to be found on the site. From this point southwards patches of rough paving and rammed stone were noticed, and approaching the ridge the ground was disturbed to a depth of 2 feet 6 inches. A trench cut at right angles along the ridge (at 328 feet), towards the highway, revealed the rammed stone floor of a building, possibly of Antonine date, for it lay on three feet of made-up ground consisting of quarry material with pockets of black occupation earth, and these contained rustic ware, fragments of form 29, 78, 15/17, and Flavian types of form 37. With this first-century pottery were fragments of a glass bottle and a melon bead, and on the old land surface handmade pottery with bead rims. Fragments of unfinished querns and one complete millstone were found here. This stone floor was trenched over an area 36 feet by 16 feet, but no traces of outer walls were found. The upper levels were much disturbed by hearths and cooking holes. The finds included a head-stud brooch, two coins, a stone spindle whorl, and a mortarium stamp (I BOCIVS). An almost complete cooking-pot was found embedded in a mass of coal, and a number of stone roofing tiles and iron nails were scattered over the floor. During ploughing in 1937–8 it appears that oyster shells and burnt stone were scattered over the upper part of the field as far as its southern boundary. A coin was picked up here.

B.W.J.K.

ALDBOROUGH. From May 23 to July 4 excavations took place, under the auspices of the R.A.C. (Y.A.S.), at Aldborough, Borough-bridge, by kind permission of Captain B. T. Hutton Croft, and with the kind permission of Mr. Clayton. We are grateful to Captain Darwin, of Aldborough Hall, for affording us facilities for storage and shelter. Work was again directed by Dr. K. A. Steer, and it was owing to his imminent departure from Yorkshire that the season had to be begun so early in the year as to deprive us of the help of many of our volunteers. We were lucky, however, in the help of Miss Nancy Hey and Miss Mary Lawson-Tancred throughout. The note on Aldborough in "Roman Yorkshire, 1937" (Y.A.J. xxxiv, 91) concluded with a hint that there was a certain discrepancy between the evidence of 1935 and 1937 as to the date when the town wall of *Isurium* was built. The first scheme for 1938, therefore, was to examine the sole remaining gate of the town in order to obtain an exhaustive series of stratification. We started from the point reached by Mr. Barber in 1924; but it quickly became clear that the Roman levels were so much deeper than we expected, and that the lay-out was so complex, that we could not hope to deal with the gate in the time at our disposal. Short of abandoning the problem altogether, it was determined to cut a section through the northern defences between the north gate and the eastern angle. The section taken was cut through the rampart and the town wall—here standing only two to three courses high—and was extended in front to reveal at least two ditches and a probable third. There was no internal nor external tower at this point. At almost every point the evidence produced clearly paralleled that discovered by Mr. Myres in 1935. The pottery from the occupation overlying the rampart was dated from the third to fourth centuries, and that from the ditch in front was for the most part early fourth. The pottery from the rampart material itself ranged from the first century to the middle of the second, and underlying the rampart we discovered a fine series of timber buildings associated with first-century pottery, which were cut through by the footings of the town wall and by the town ditch in front. The one point, however, where our evidence had no parallel in 1935 was of crucial importance, for a third-century coin, probably Julia Domna, was discovered actually in the clay and cobble footings of the town wall. This is borne out by the discovery in 1937, to which we have referred, of a third-century cook-pot in the builders' level of the south-east internal angle tower. There can be little doubt that the whole circuit of

the visible Roman defences of the town of Aldborough were erected in the early third century, and that the predominating Antonine material in the rampart belongs to a period well before the erection of the town wall. Among the small finds was another intaglio, apparently representing Mars. M.K.C.

CASTLEFORD. Towards the latter part of July, 1937, during excavations outside Tower House, Bank Street (the residence of the Misses Grant), a quantity of Roman tiles were brought to light. These tiles are to be found under the whole length of Bank Street. A coin was also found—

Bronze. *Obv.*: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XVIII

Rev.: BRITANNIA COS IIII SC.

Cohen, vol. 11; Pius 282.

A.D. 155.

The tiles and the coin were found at a depth of eight feet.

According to Miss Grant, each time the road at this part had been excavated, Roman remains had been recovered, and her garden-wall, which runs along Bank Street, is built upon old foundations, which go down below eight feet. C.J.B.

DEWSBURY. It has been reported in the Press (*Yorkshire Post*, September 23, 1938) that twenty-five Roman coins were discovered on the Overthorpe Park Estate, Thornhill, Dewsbury, by workmen who were digging a trench two feet below the surface for the Corporation Gas Department. M.K.C.

THORPE AUDLIN. A bronze coin of Diocletian was found in 1935, at a depth of about two feet, whilst digging in a garden at Thorpe Audlin. C.J.B.

EAST RIDING.

ELMSWELL. Excavation was continued for a month in August on the site at Elmswell, three miles west of Driffield, where, from 1935–7, Mr. A. L. Congreve had discovered coins, pottery and small objects dating from the pre-Roman Iron Age to Saxon times. The excavations were directed by Messrs. Congreve, Corder, and Romans, under the auspices of Hull University College Local History Committee. Six men were employed, in addition to numerous volunteer helpers, and a large area was covered by trial trenches. In spite of very numerous and interesting finds, no villa was discovered, and the structures were disappointing. These were of three kinds. (1) Large pits, roughly oval in shape, cut into the

gravel, and filled with stratified wood ash and sherds, similar to those previously discovered by Mr. Congreve (*Hull Museum Publications*, No. 193, pp. 12–13). (2) Areas of rough paving and cobbles that probably represent hut floors. One of these was certainly a hut, about 16 ft. long by 9 ft. wide, with wooden posts. The floor of this hut showed two periods of cobbling, with the latest of which was associated pottery of the Signal Station period. (3) A clay-built kiln with furnace, and flue 6 ft. long. This was isolated from other structures, and the scarcity of finds associated with it or in its vicinity leaves its purpose in doubt.

The finds were of surprisingly varied nature. A considerable collection of worked flints was made on the site. A large polished greenstone axe, and part of another, were found unstratified. A strip of very fine repoussé bronze work, together with a band of bronze decorated with champlevé enamel, perhaps from a casket, of La Tène workmanship, assignable probably to the first half of the first century A.D., was the most important discovery from the site. Roman pottery was extremely plentiful and extended in date from the first century to the end of the Roman occupation, decorated Samian coming into general use, however, in the Antonine period. A few sherds of stamped pottery, part of a brooch of Londesborough type, a bone comb, and one or two other small objects, attest occupation in pagan Saxon times. The presence of bloomery slag, and a hearth that produced what, on analysis, is described by Dr. J. A. Smythe as “sweepings from a smithy floor,” support the view put forward that iron working had taken place on the site, without, however, making clear its exact nature. Long continued occupation of the site is, however, proved, though absence of stratification makes it impossible to assert the fact of continuous occupation from the Roman into the Saxon period.

T.R. P.C. A.L.C.

NORTH FERRIBY (1). A week's digging was undertaken in September on the site of the supposed Parisian settlement at North Ferriby, where imported Belgic ware and South Gaulish Samian had been discovered in rubbish pits on the Humber bank by Messrs. C. W. and E. V. Wright at intervals since 1932 (*Ant. Journ.*, xviii, 262–277, *Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire—North Ferriby*).

The subsoil is here gravel over boulder clay, and constant percolation of water had rendered the sandy soil extremely hard and compact. No recognisable structures were recovered in the

trial trenches, beyond somewhat indefinite pits and ditches, but further finds of imported pottery, dating before 50 A.D., were made. These included white Belgic butt-beakers, Belgic *terra nigra* plates and white pipe-clay jugs with overhanging concave rims (as *Ant. Journ.*, *loc. cit.*, fig. II, 6, 11, 13, 16, 17, and fig. III, 18, 21), in addition to local hand-made vessels in calcite-gritted ware. Fragments of wattle and daub, and some bones and shells, attested the existence of huts on the site. The latest discoveries in point of date were a Dolphin brooch and a scrap of 'rustic' ware, which would appear to carry the occupation of the site to a date rather later than the establishment of *Petuaria*; but this is not surprising, and there is no reason to modify the conclusion that the site is that of a village settlement of the Parisii, occupied during the first half of the first century A.D. It is the most northerly site where the importation of Romano-Gallic pottery before the Roman Conquest has been established. P.C.

NORTH FERRIBY (2). Messrs. C. W. and E. V. Wright recently found the remains of a boat buried between tide marks on the Humber shore at North Ferriby. It was obviously ancient, and its two ends and two sections in between were carefully excavated and filled in again, in the hope that eventually the boat may be removed.

They found that it was 43 feet long. In the middle five planks were preserved, the centre one running the whole length of the boat, and just under two feet wide, and two more on either side. It was clear that there had been at least two more planks. The boat had collapsed so that all the planks now lie flat, and it is impossible yet to estimate the actual beam.

The method of construction is as follows. The planks are edge to edge, and caulked with moss: a long slat of wood lies along the joint. At about one foot intervals holes are bored in each plank and the joint is tied with twisted yew, up to half an inch thick.

The centre plank is turned up at the bow, so that the end is two feet above the level of the rest of it. This curved part and various projections in the middle are carved out of the one solid piece of timber that forms the plank.

The only objects found with the boat were a lump of flint, an indeterminable fragment of bone, pieces of oak and alder wood, a small crab and several acorns.

The method of construction is intermediate between that of a dug-out and that of a normal built-up boat used in the Roman

period. It may be a native boat of Roman times or it may be considerably older, and as yet there is no means of deciding.

C.W.W.

NORTH RIDING.

HIGH DALBY RIGG. The lip of a bowl, of Crambeck ware—probably late fourth century (Type I)—was kicked up by the plough in ripping the moor for the Forestation Commission. There is an abundance of flints on the site. No metal traces have been seen, and only this one fragment of pot.

The location does not appear to have a special name, but may be recorded as High Dalby Rigg, above Staindale and near the road to Saltergate.

R.W.C.

NORTHALLERTON. Fragmentary remains of what may have been the “pitching” of a Roman road have been unearthed about six feet down in field No. 2, Ord. Sheet No. 71-14, Parish of Thorton le Beans.

H.G.T.

WELL. With the permission of the owner, Mr. H. Cheeseborough Hunt, excavations were carried out in the Mill End Garth, Well, from September 19th to October 1st, under the auspices of the Roman Antiquities Committee. The work was directed by Mr. R. Gilyard-Beer.

The “bath” described by the Rev. W. C. Lukis in 1876 was again uncovered and was found to be one compartment in a large rectangular building. Six rooms belonging to this building were explored, at least two of which had contained hypocausts. Rough courtyard paving to the south-east was also examined.

This season’s work has served to show that the Mill End Garth contains ample material to justify resuming excavations. It is hoped to publish an interim report.

R.G-B.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

The 75th Anniversary of the founding of the Society was marked by a dinner, held at the Great Northern Hotel, Leeds, on Wednesday, 30 Nov. 1938, which was attended by 120 members and friends. The President, J. W. Walker, Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A., was in the chair. The principal guest was Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., LL.D., President of the Society of Antiquaries. Other guests included Sir Charles R. Peers, C.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A., a former President of the Society of Antiquaries, A. W. Clapham, Esq., Secretary of the same Society, O. G. S. Crawford, Esq., of the Ordnance Survey, and the Presidents of the following local societies: the Thoresby Society (Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson, C.B.E.), the East Riding Society (R. H. Whiteing), the Halifax Society (T. W. Hanson), the Bradford Society (W. Hustwick), the Bridlington Augustinian Society (H. Postell). There were also present Mrs. J. W. Walker, E. W. Crossley (V.P. and Hon. Sec.) and Mrs. Crossley, C. T. Clay (Hon. Sec. of the Record Series) and the Hon. Mrs. Clay, H. Chapman (Hon. Treas.) and Mrs. Chapman, J. W. Houseman (Hon. Editor) and Mrs. Houseman, and the following members of the Council: Rev. Prof. C. E. Whiting, Rev. H. Lawrance, Lt.-Col. E. Kitson Clark, H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, T. S. Gowland, W. E. Preston, Philip O. Walker, W. Harold Watson, and Miss M. Kitson Clark.

TOAST LIST.

“ THE KING.”

Proposed by the President, J. W. Walker, Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A.

“ THE YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.”

Proposed by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., President of the Society of Antiquaries.

Responded to by J. W. Walker, Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A.

“ OUR GUESTS.”

Proposed by E. W. Crossley, Esq., F.S.A.

Responded to by Sir Charles R. Peers, C.B.E., M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit., F.B.A., F.S.A.

“ THE PRESIDENT.”

Proposed by Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson, C.B.E., M.A.,
D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.

Responded to by J. W. Walker, Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A.

Sir Frederic Kenyon, in proposing the health of the Society, remarked that it had always, from the very beginning, regarded the care and publication of records as of the first importance, and it had done a great work in both these respects. He referred to the establishment of repositories in every county. The Yorkshire Society had an important strong-room at its headquarters, No. 10, Park Place, Leeds. It was very desirable that lords of manors and other owners should give their records to these repositories. There were many persons, however, who perhaps would not care to give their records outright, yet were quite willing to place them there on loan, and they should be encouraged to do so, and thus make them available for the use of historical students. He referred also to the great service rendered by the Office of Works in preserving ancient monuments, either by taking them over, or scheduling. The Society of Antiquaries was most anxious that complete lists should be prepared in every county of monuments which were worthy of preservation, and he hoped they might have the assistance of the Yorkshire Society.

The President, in replying to the toast, thanked Sir Frederic for his presence and encouragement, and reviewed the progress of the Society since its early days. He referred to the importance of the Library at 10, Park Place, and the provision for its extension by the purchase of the adjoining premises, which would, as occasion required, afford additional accommodation for years to come. He appealed for the closest co-operation between the local societies and the county society, so that archæological research in the county might be carried out to the greatest advantage. He hoped to initiate a scheme of co-operation before long. Of late years the operations of the Society had been considerably increased by the activities of its members, who devoted themselves especially to the study of the pre-history and of the Roman occupation of the county. The President made a strong appeal for an increase in the membership.

At the conclusion of the speeches, James R. Ogden, Esq., F.S.A., gave a short address on “ Books: their Origin, History and Evolution.”

A very enjoyable evening was spent, which will be long remembered by many who were present.

E.W.C.

ALABASTER TOMBS AND EFFIGIES IN THE NORTH
CHOIR AISLE OF SWINE CHURCH (E.R.).

After efforts extending over several years the Society has at length been successful in securing the rebuilding and renovation of the monuments in the Hilton chapel. This has been rendered possible by a generous grant from the Pilgrim Trust and by subscriptions from members and friends. The work has been carried out by Messrs. G. W. Milburn and Son, under the supervision of Mr. Colin Rowntree. The result seems quite satisfactory, and the Parochial Church Council has sent a letter of thanks to the Society for its effort.

A short report from Mr. Rowntree is appended, together with a list of the subscribers and a balance-sheet.

E. W. CROSSLEY.

MR. COLIN ROWNTREE'S REPORT.

The alabaster tombs, with effigies, in the Hilton chapel, which have recently been renovated at Swine church date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At least one of the tombs had been moved from another position and had been badly set up, and they had all been repaired in a rough and clumsy manner. In addition to this, very considerable damage had been, and still was being, caused by dampness, which had disintegrated some of the alabaster mouldings and carving and caused them to crumble and to powder. Similar damage had been caused by the heat from a stove which had been set up in close proximity to one of the tombs.

The tombs were taken down, any loose alabaster was brushed off, and the backs of the panels were coated with bitumen where necessary. In rebuilding, lead damp-proof courses were fixed under all the panels to prevent any damp rising from the bases, the slabs were held together with copper cramps, and broken limbs or other portions of the effigies were dowelled and the joints carefully pointed up.

No attempt was made to restore any of the old work, but a narrow wooden strip and a corner of a panel which had been filled in with cement were replaced by pieces of alabaster.

The principal difficulty in carrying out the work was in the handling of the alabaster. The effigies and the tops were very heavy and fragile. Many of the panels were very thin, particularly those which had suffered most from the damp, so that the greatest possible care and skill had to be exercised to avoid damaging them.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
The Pilgrim Trust, per Dr.				Capt. C. W. Whitworth ..	10	0	
F. C. Eeles	25	0	0	Mrs. D. U. McGrigor Phillips	1	1	0
Lady Waechter de Grimston	1	1	0	A. Fulton	10	6	
Lord Middleton	1	0	0	Col. C. H. Milburn	10	6	
R. H. Whiteing	1	1	0	Lt.-Col. A. G. Master	5	0	
Major John W. Dent	2	2	0	Dr. A. R. Roche	5	0	
Sir Arthur J. Atkinson	1	1	0	J. E. P. Turner	1	1	0
Lord Farrer	10	0		N. P. W. Viner-Brady	1	1	0
E. W. Crossley	2	2	0	J. A. Knowles	10	0	
J. J. Brigg	10	0		Joseph Walker	10	0	
R. Alec-Smith	1	1	0	Alfred Jordan	1	1	0
Viscountess Swinton	1	1	0	Mrs. E. Beulah	2	6	
C. T. Clay	1	0	0	A. M. Woodward	5	0	
Flt.-Lt. R. G. Sims	5	0		Reginald Dyson	1	1	0
A. J. Walker	2	0	0	E. A. Bullmore	10	6	
H. S. Chorley	1	1	0	W. J. Akeroyd	1	1	0
Mrs. Elwell	1	1	0	H. T. Clay	10	6	
B. S. Massey	5	0		Col. Robt. Hall	10	6	
Eric H. Kennington	5	0	0	C. Billinton	1	1	0
L. Cresswell	2	2	0	Canon A. N. Cooper	1	1	0
J. W. Walker	2	2	0	P. A. Barlow	10	6	
J. Charlesworth	10	0		Miss A. I. Watson	10	0	
Rev. C. Holmes	1	0	0	Miss U. M. Lascelles	10	6	
Viscount Halifax	1	1	0	W. E. Hortor	10	6	
Archdeacon A. H. Watson	10	0		H. Whitaker	1	0	0
W. Townend	1	1	0	Miss E. E. Weatherhead	6	6	
Lt.-Col. E. K. Clark	5	0		F. Standfield	10	6	
Miss Gladys Tetley	2	2	0	Ian H. Taylor	5	0	
F. W. Bricknell	10	0		H. P. Boden	5	0	
Hon. Hilda Kitson	1	1	0	Miss E. M. Richardson	10	6	
W. F. Northend	1	1	0	Mr. Pope	1	1	0
Col. W. St. A. Warde-Aldam	5	0		W. N. Bagshaw	1	1	0
D. Matheson MacKay, M.D.	10	0		George Green	10	6	
Leslie T. Moore	10	6		J. B. Willans	10	0	
J. A. T. Crowther	5	6		Miss Edith B. Mackie	1	1	0
Miss J. G. C. Topham	1	1	0	Edw. Williams	10	0	
T. C. Taylor	1	1	0	R. Ede England	10	6	
G. A. Longden	10	6		T. F. Brewster	1	0	0
A. S. Robinson	10	0					
Miss M. Kitson Clark	10	0					
					£90	0	0

BALANCE SHEET.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	Payments.	£	s.	d.
Grant from the Pilgrim Trust				A. V. Hudson—Fee for Faculty	2	2	0
per Dr. F. C. Eeles	25	0	0	West Yorkshire Printing Co.—			
Subscriptions	65	0	0	Circulars	1	7	6
				Postages	2	8	0
				Travelling Expenses	12	0	
				G. W. Milburn & Son—Reno-			
				vation of Alabaster Tombs			
				and Effigies	53	8	9
				F. Rowntree & Sons—Archi-			
				tects' Fees and Travelling			
				Expenses	4	16	0
				Bank Commission	2	6	
				Balance	25	3	3
	£90	0	0		£90	0	0

Audited and found correct,
E. R. CROSSLAND.
14th March, 1939.

E. W. CROSSLEY, *Hon. Treas.*

THE HARROGATE GROUP.

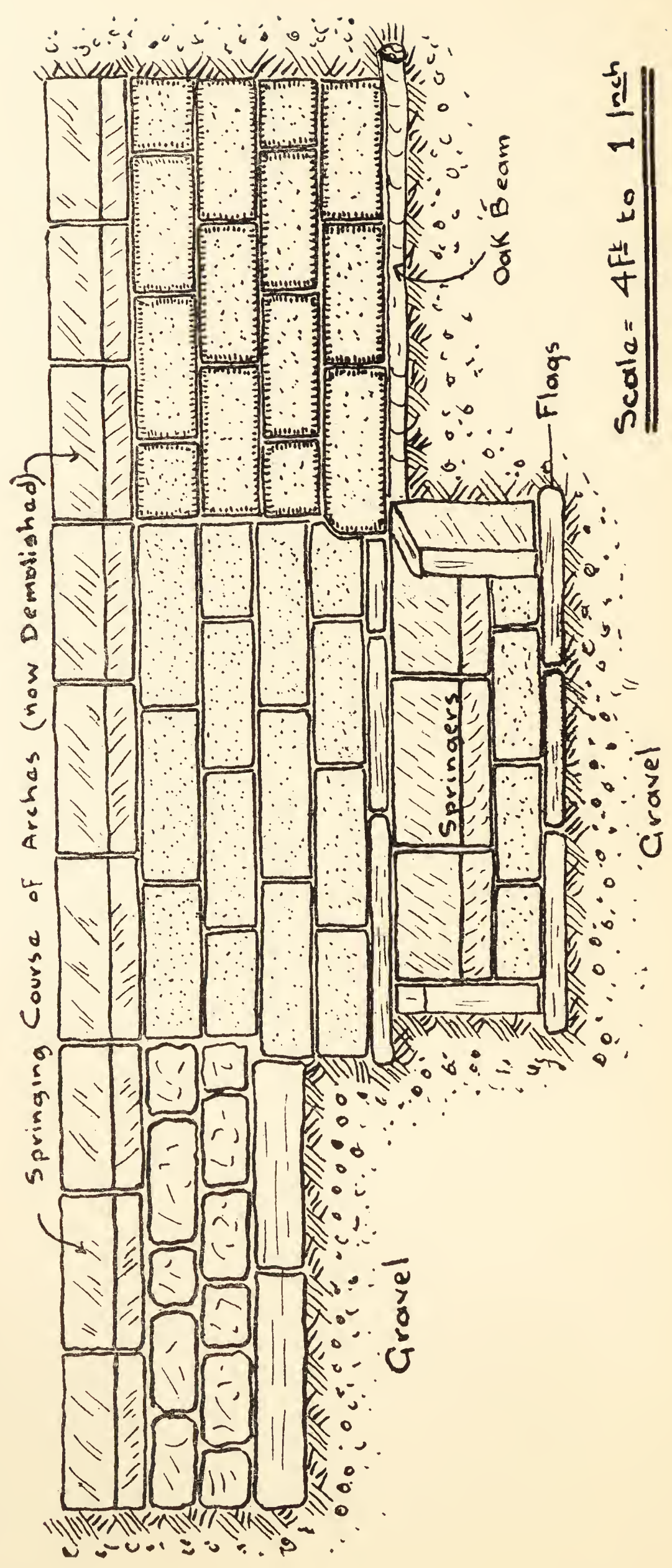
EXCAVATIONS AT NORTH DEIGHTON.

The activity of the Harrogate Group continues apace. Their Field Survey Committee began in May, 1938, the excavation of a barrow known as Green Howe, on Bank House Farm, North Deighton, under the direction of Mr. B. W. J. Kent, F.S.A. (Scot.), and Mr. H. J. Stickland. This barrow occupies the extreme west end of a narrow ridge of limestone about 500 yards south-west of the village, and may be seen on the right, on approaching North Deighton from Spofforth. It is near the 125 feet contour line, is about 75 feet by 66 feet in diameter, and excavation shows it to be about 7 feet high above the original turf line. A section 8 feet wide was cut through the mound from south to north, and another from east to the centre. Various skeletal remains at different levels have been unearthed, as well as fragments of a cinerary urn and two food vessels, which have been restored at the Institute of Archæology in London and may now be seen in the Harrogate Art Gallery. Other fragments of pottery, a fine bone pin and a number of flint implements have also been revealed. A complete photographic record of all stages of the excavation has been kept by Mr. Kent. There is much more work to be done, and it will be resumed this season. In due course it is hoped to give a detailed report of the work, which has been undertaken with the kind permission and co-operation of the owner, Mr. G. W. Sadler of Wetherby, and of the tenant, Mr. A. Mansford Wood.

REGISTRATION OF OLD HOUSES, ETC., IN HARROGATE AND DISTRICT.

Under the chairmanship of Col. C. H. Milburn, O.B.E., J.P., a Committee of the Harrogate Group has been formed to compile records of old houses and buildings in Harrogate and district, particularly those with historic associations. The help of several architect members of the Committee is being enlisted, in an advisory capacity, and the most approximate limit of age for buildings to be registered is 100 years.

<p>DOWNSTREAM ARCH</p> <p>Built of rough quarry-dressed masonry on heavy flagstones</p>	<p>UPSTREAM ARCH</p> <p>Built of ashlar with "punched" facework. Drafted margins</p>
<p>Line of Separation</p>	<p>Line of Separation</p>
<p>MIDDLE ARCH</p> <p>Built of ashlar with "punched" facework. Resting on flagstones</p>	



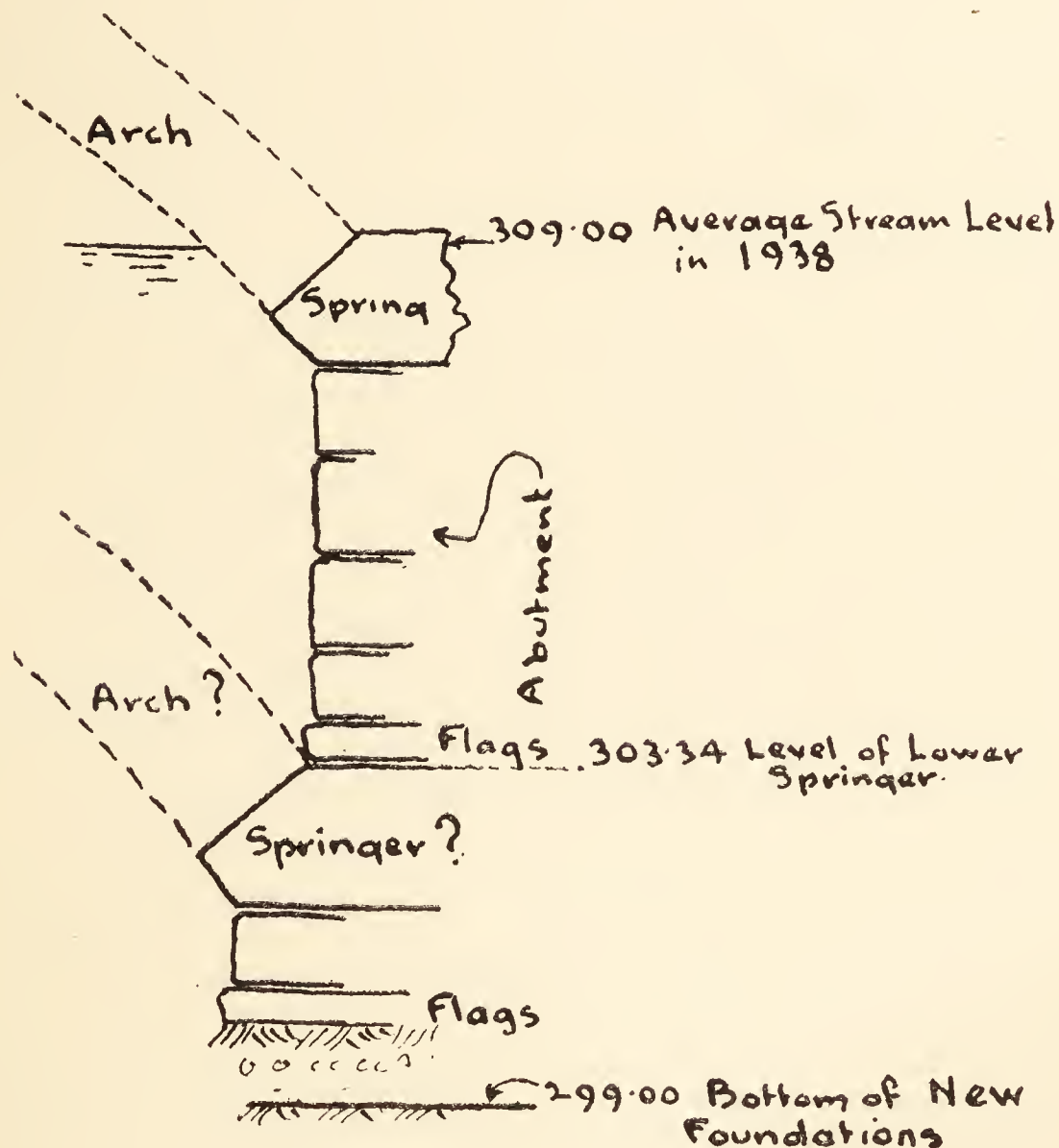
ELEVATION OF FOUNDATIONS OF OLD BRIDGE



SOME OF THE OLD FOUNDATIONS AND SUPPORTS

EASTBURN BRIDGE.

Eastburn Bridge carries the Keighley-Skipton road over a small stream about half a mile south of Kildwick. A new structure is now (1939) being erected in place of the old bridge—not because the latter was weak (the contractor writes “it was very well built and resisted demolition to the last: in fact not one of the arches fell when the crowns had been cut out until the last piece of the last keystone had been cut out, and even then some of



them hung cantilevered from the haunching”) but because, like so many old bridges, it had been built at right-angles to the stream and so out of line with the road.

Although the old bridge was not more than wide enough for two vehicles, it really was made up of three separate bridges, built at different times, standing side by side clear of one another and “connected only by the road metal.”

The West Riding Quarter Sessions kept in “The Book of the Bridges” a list of all the “County” bridges for which they were responsible, and they were very jealous of any additions to the

list. Eastburn Bridge was not in the "Book of the Bridges" and was repairable by the Wapentake of Staincliffe and Ewecross, although it was situated on an important through road. The following extracts from the West Riding Sessions Minute-books indicate the dates of the building of the three sections of the bridge—

1642: "There is and hath been time out of minde a bridge called Eastburne bridge within the parish of Kildwicke in Craven in the high streete or roadway between London and Kendal for all passengers who continually do travel that way with packes and other carriages." It was agreed to contribute as a gratuity the sum of £40 towards the total cost of £120.

1688: £125 was granted for repairs, and in 1707 £30.

1737: A new bridge or section was built.

During the building of the new bridge (1938–39) the Engineer-in-charge, Mr. A. Foster Jonas, A.M.Inst.T. (of the Surveyor's Department of the W.R.C.C.), to whom we are also indebted for the accompanying diagrams and photograph, discovered the foundations of a bridge which appears to be the predecessor of the bridge of 1642. He writes—"in carrying down the foundations of the new abutment about 10 ft. below the springer of the old bridge, the lower levels of the abutments and foundations of the three older bridges were exposed. The bottom of the foundations of the middle arch and also of the upstream arch were found at a depth of 303.34 ft. above Ordnance datum, or about 5 ft. below the present bed of the stream. The downstream arch was a foot higher than the other two arches. The masonry of the upstream arch was laid on a timber raft (oak), and the timber is still sound. The downstream arch foundation was laid directly on the gravel, the first course being heavy flagging. On carrying the new foundation excavation still further, to 299 ft. O.D., a most interesting discovery was made at the foundations of the central arch. What were apparently the remains of a still earlier bridge were exposed. Seventy feet below the springing of the arch (just demolished) another arch springstone appeared. It was 7 ft. 8 in. wide between what appeared to be old spandrel walls, and it rests on a very low abutment of a single course of 12-in. ashlar masonry built on a layer of flags which rests upon the gravel. The masonry is well-wrought and in good condition."

A special word of thanks is due to Mr. Jonas for recording and reporting a discovery which might have been so easily destroyed and forgotten in the course of the new construction. J.J.B.

SIR PATIENCE WARD OF TANSHELF, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

By REV. PROF. C. E. WHITING, M.A., D.D., F.S.A.

Patience Ward was the son of Thomas Ward of Tanshelf, near Pontefract. The family claimed descent from Osbert de Warde of Guiseley, whose grandson, Simon de Warde, founded Esholt Priory towards the end of the twelfth century. They also claimed descent from the family of St. Andrew of Gotham, and through the Staffords from George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III.¹ Since 1507 the Wards had held the manor of Tanshelf from the Crown. Thomas Ward, who died in 1635, (his will² was proved on 2nd July 1635), had by his wife Elizabeth, who survived him for at least sixteen years, eleven children. The eldest was John Ward of Tanshelf, who died 15th August 1657. The seventh was Thomas Ward, who is probably the Thomas Ward of Doncaster who married Ursula Hammond of Stotfold in 1635. The eighth was Patience Ward, the subject of this memoir.

Patience (his name is frequently Latinized as *Patientius*) was born at Tanshelf in the parish of Pontefract on the 7th December 1629. His father, "having had six sons and one daughter by a second wife, did frequently say if he had another son he would call him Patience, which he accordingly did: and though dissuaded would maintain his resolutions for so unusual and singular a name."³ When he was only five years old, his father died and the eldest brother was left to take care of the rest. From the cradle Patience had been designed for the ministry, and his mother, a devout woman, "would frequently take him to her private prayers, which he was so well pleased with, that even in his infancy he would get her book in private and pray alone. He was of great mettle and courage, that he gave frequent testimonies of at school: but the Civil War coming on gave great interruption to his learning."³ The Ward family were Puritans and active in enforcing the orders of Parliament against the Church. When the war broke out they were amongst the first to be driven from their

¹ See the Plantagenet Roll, Clarence volume.

² *Hooton Pagnell Deeds*, i, 25.

³ *Memoirs of Sir Patience Ward*.—Ayscough MSS., Brit. Mus. 4224, f. 33.

home by the Cavaliers who held Pontefract Castle, and all they possessed was seized, except what they could carry away. The interruption to his education does not seem to have been long-lasting, for in 1643 it was settled that he should go to the university. Under the charge of a brother-in-law he set off for Cambridge with instructions to "abide and settle" there, his eldest brother declaring that if he did not, he would never look on him again. He had much good exhortation from a "famous minister in the north" into whose company he fell during the journey, but on his arrival he met with some of his old schoolfellows, who "told him by way of encouragement the methods and course of the town, which gave him such offence, that he resolved not to stay, expecting to have found a heavenly state where religion was to be taught."¹ At this time he was fourteen years old, but young people then were more mature at that age than they are now. He set out for London, and while seeking a master studied the art of keeping accounts for six months. Having attained proficiency, he was recommended to a London merchant, who took him on trial for a time. Whether this was the merchant to whom he was ultimately apprenticed is unknown, for the small portion of his *Memoirs* still existing stops abruptly at this point.

On 10th June 1646 he was apprenticed for eight years to Launcelot Tolson, merchant taylor and merchant adventurer, of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and with him he lived till his apprenticeship was up. The eight years would include the final year spent as a journeyman. When this was ended he set up in business for himself in St. Lawrence Pountney Lane, occupying part of an ancient mansion known as Poultney's Inn and "the Manor of the Rose," formerly the property of Sir John Poultney. On 8th June 1653 Ward married in Hackney parish church, Elizabeth, the daughter of William Hobson of Hackney. The banns were published at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where the certificate is to be seen in the register, and also at Hackney. The records of the latter parish show that they were published in Leadenhall Market, according to the new customs introduced by the Commonwealth. He became a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1655, but refused to take up his livery when summoned to do so. In the Court minutes under the date 3rd June 1663 there is an entry stating that he had been admonished by the Company on many occasions, and warning him that he would be summoned before the Court of Aldermen if he continued refractory. The reason

¹ *Memoirs of Sir Patience Ward*.—Ayscough MSS., Brit. Mus. 4224, f. 33.

for this obstinacy on his part is unknown. No one could aspire to municipal office without being a member of one of the city companies. However, he had to give way: he paid a fine of £50 and was admitted to the livery that year.¹ After his quarrel with the company was ended, he seems to have made his way into its good graces, for he was elected to the Court of the company in 1670 and became Master in 1671. He had been elected sheriff on Midsummer Day 1670, and on the 18th October of that year had become alderman for the ward of Farringdon Within.

On 16th June 1671 Mr. Sheriff Ward wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson, the King's Secretary, asking him to release a Mr. Atkinson, a farmer of the excise in Lincolnshire, who had been committed for contempt because he had not made his appearance when ordered before the Privy Council. Ward explained that it had all been due to a mistake: the Council was sitting at Hampton Court, and under a misapprehension Atkinson had gone to Whitehall.² In September he again wrote to Williamson. It was rumoured that Sir John Bennet had given up the Post Office, and Ward hoped that the Secretary "would be a means of some good friends being accepted about the Post Office."³ A document, "The Characters of the Aldermen," was supplied privately to King Charles II in this year, and the compiler said of Ward that he "hath had a wife many years but whether they were ever married is a question, unless it were according to the directory of the Quakers He is a very considerable merchant, what interest he hath is among the non-conformists, and that is not much."⁴ The statement about his marriage was a groundless libel: the record of his wedding is in the registers of Hackney parish church; and the suggestion of Quakerism seems equally baseless. We have no knowledge that he ever showed the slightest leaning towards the Quakers.

He was soon noticeable for his opposition to the Court party. In October 1673 members of the Honourable Artillery Company were feasted at Drapers' Hall. The Duke of York was present, and was "nobly and sumptuously" entertained. Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, told Sir Joseph Williamson how four Aldermen, John Forth, Patience Ward, Sir John Moore,

¹ Clode: *Memorials of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, p. 558. *Early History of the Merchants Taylors' Co.*, ii, 348.

³ C.S.P.D., 2nd Sept. 1671, 292/159.

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1769, p. 517.

² Cal. State Papers Domestic, 16th June 1671, 291/1.

and Sir Francis Chaplain, were against giving any entertainment that year, and they seem to have refused to act as stewards. However, four members of the Common Council were appointed in their room, and “ ’twas carried on most bravely.”¹

The Court of the Merchant Taylors’ Company nevertheless, on 9th May 1673, resolved that for the good services done by Alderman Patience Ward, the last Master, and as a benefactor to the company, he should be asked to have his portrait painted at the expense of the company. In consequence £7 17s. was paid to Robert Mallory “ for Alderman Ward’s picture frame and painting in Pope’s Head Alley.”²

Ward was largely engaged in trade with the Continent. In 1674 he was one of a group of merchants who, on behalf of themselves and many others, presented a petition to the King in Council representing the great losses they daily sustained from the capers of Ostend. These, it was complained, frequently and on false pretences carried the petitioners’ ships into their ports, and used great cruelty to the masters and mariners, in order to extort false confessions from them. In reply, an Order in Council was issued on 8th July 1674, commanding the petitioners to make oath in the Court of Admiralty as to the truth of their complaints and their respective losses. Moreover, they were to attend upon one of the Secretaries of State. This Secretary was to express effectually to the Spanish Ambassador the King’s just resentment, and was to cause letters to be sent to the Count de Monterey, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, demanding speedy redress for the injuries, and reparation for the petitioners’ losses.³

On 27th July Ward wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson, “ Having renewed our petition about the French commerce, the committee is revived and enlarged.” He was sure that Sir Joseph had taken the greatest pains and deserved their warmest thanks. It would be conferring an obligation on thousands whose looms were idle if this affair might be advanced, and he urged Williamson to do what he could on behalf of the persons thus thrown out of work. The cloth trade of London had fallen off very greatly of late. Whereas twelve or fourteen years previously some six or eight thousand pieces of cloth came yearly from Kendal to London, there were now not three hundred. Instead of 10,000 kerseys from West Yorkshire, now not five hundred were shipped to

¹ C.S.P.D. 337/124, 24th Oct. 1673.

² F. M. Fry: *The Pictures of the*

Merchant Taylors’ Company; London, 1907.

³ C.S.P.D. 361/122, 8th July 1674.

France; and though formerly several thousand pieces of bays came from Lancashire, now there was scarcely one. The cloth trade had been disabled by excessive customs, and most other goods for export had decreased in proportion.¹

In November 1674 he was writing letters on behalf of his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Desborough, who was deaf and "almost moapt," and who was worth not more than £200 a year, but had been proposed for the office of Sheriff of Cambridgeshire. He was quite incapable of performing the duties, and Ward suggested in one letter that a certain Edward Pickering was a better person for the place. One of the correspondents whose influence he was seeking in the matter was Sir Joseph Williamson.²

On 30th August 1675 he again wrote to Williamson. The free access he had always had to the Secretary encouraged him to write again, although the fruitlessness of his solicitations in the matter of the French commercial treaty had made his courage fail. Nevertheless, he was again writing on behalf of the decaying woollen trade. In Ireland there were now attempts at manufacturing several sorts of cloth which belonged by prescription and right to certain English counties. Competition would ruin both, and increase the animosity between the two countries. As it was, the woollen manufactures of England were believed to be double the needs of our foreign custom. Certain persons were now trying to develop a woollen manufacture in Ireland, and the trade would only be ruined in both countries. There were laws forbidding the planting of tobacco in England, reserving that trade for the American plantations; then why should there not be laws restraining the woollen manufacture in Ireland? They should encourage hemp and flax in Ireland by imposts on all manufactures of flax and hemp from other countries. Sail cloths and such like could easily be made in Ireland. Why, then, buy elsewhere? The right course was to encourage such industries in Ireland as would not ruin England.³

At the Lord Mayor's banquet on 29th October 1675 the King was present, and Ward and other aldermen were knighted.

Begging for favours was not all on one side. On 4th February 1676 Sir Joseph Williamson wrote to Sir William Turner asking him to extend his favour to the bearer of the letter, Mr. Hayes, who was a candidate for employment in the Merchant Taylors'

¹ C.S.P.D. 361/171, 27th July 1674.

² C.S.P.D. 362/70, 368/173.

³ C.S.P.D. 373/21, 30th August 1675.

Company. Similar letters had also been sent to Colonel Mew, Sir Patience Ward, and Sir William Pritchard.¹ During this year Ward had suffered loss by a ship which had been captured by a privateer and carried into San Sebastian. He begged that Williamson would write to Sir William Godolphin, the English ambassador at Madrid, urging him to claim that justice might be done. Ward further interviewed the Spanish ambassador in London, who professed to be particularly concerned at his loss, and had told him he was taking leave of Williamson on 30th June. So Ward urged the Secretary to press the matter upon the ambassador. It was all the more important that he should do so, because if it had not been for the ambassador's assurance that justice would be done, he would have appealed to the Council.²

William Blathwayt wrote from the Council chamber on 24th July 1676, saying that the Committee for Trade had examined several blank and counterfeit warrants for freedom of ships, and understood that one of that nature had come into the hands of Sir Patience Ward. They therefore desired his attendance at 10 o'clock the following Friday morning.³

On 16th December 1676 a certain Mr. Batey, a "chaplain at the other end of the town," appeared before the Court of Aldermen with something to lay before them about disturbances at Non-conformist meetings. Most of those present were anxious not to admit him, or have any dealings with him; so much so, that they were preparing to go out by other than the usual way to avoid meeting him; but Sir Patience Ward, "for many reasons," persuaded them not to do so.⁴ He himself had great sympathy with the Puritan party and objected strongly to the persecution to which they were exposed.

Ward was closely connected with the leaders of the party shortly to be known everywhere as Whigs. They were in opposition to the policy of the court, hated Catholicism, dreaded the accession of James, Duke of York, to the throne, and before very long there was a scheme on foot to declare the Duke of Monmouth the legitimate heir to the kingship, and thus to oust his uncle from the succession. In 1677 we find Ward having business dealings with Monmouth, who wrote to him desiring him to request his correspondent at Abbéville to hand over to the Duke's agent, Patrick Trant, the stores of coats, stockings and shoes remaining

¹ C.S.P.D., Entry Book 43, p. 75.

² C.S.P.D. 382/188, 30th June 1676.

³ C.S.P.D. 383/152, 24th July 1676.

⁴ C.S.P.D. 387/152, 16th December

1676.

in his possession on account of Monmouth's regiment. Ward's agent was to take Trant's receipt for them, and also an acknowledgement that he would not dispose of them except by the Duke's order.¹

The elections at the beginning of 1679 were hotly disputed. Sir William Frankland wrote to Lord Fauconberg on 16th February, saying that he had heard that Sir John Dawney was certain to be elected at Pontefract; but that there would be a struggle between Sir Patience Ward and Mr. Ramsden.² Ward, however, was successful.

On 29th September 1680 he was elected Lord Mayor of London. There had been some apprehension on the part of his supporters in the City, lest he should be passed by and someone else elected.³ On the other hand, it was stated that the election had been ensured by receiving some twelve or thirteen hundred persons into the livery of the city companies without taking the oaths.⁴ Sir Robert Clayton, the retiring Lord Mayor, said that his own labours for the peace and safety of the city during the past year had undermined his health, and praying that the clouds might pass which overhung the realm, he urged his hearers to a mutual toleration of religious difficulties, about which there had been so much strife in recent years. Sir Patience, in thanking the electors for his appointment, deplored the meanness of his own abilities. He did not presume to think that he could come up to the pattern of his predecessor; but he begged the divine assistance. He would endeavour to uphold the laws of the land, and if he did not, he begged his hearers not to withhold their censure. He then proceeded to stir up those animosities in the matters of religion in the way which Clayton had deprecated. The Church of Rome had, he said, been of late more active than ever. To the Roman Catholics was due the burning of the city, the plots and conspiracies to assassinate the King, and the barbarous murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. In a more secret way the Church of Rome was undermining the nation by being the occasion of, or at least taking occasion from, the great impiety, profaneness and atheism which had crept in of late; and it was also busy raising and fomenting divisions. During his year of office he would endeavour to put down weakness and debauchery, to promote the honour of the King with unfailing loyalty, to uphold the

¹ C.S.P.D., Entry Book 41, p. 96.

³ C.S.P.D., Entry Book 62, p. 82.

² Hist. MSS. Com.: MSS. of Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley, p. 47.

⁴ Newsletters, Admiralty, Greenwich Hospital, ii, 54-56.

Protestant religion, to promote union in affection between Protestants; and to strive for peace and prosperity of the city.¹

He entered upon his office on the 29th October. He was sworn in, according to custom, before the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster, whither he went by water, accompanied by the late Lord Mayor, the aldermen and sheriffs, and by the several city companies in their barges. It was a splendid pageant, a forerunner of the Lord Mayor's Show, as we call it to-day, designed by Thomas Jordon, the city poet,² and provided at the cost of the Merchant Taylors' Company. A copy of the original description of it is in the Guildhall Library.³ When they returned they passed "with the usual solemnity" into the Guildhall, where there was held a magnificent banquet, at which were present the lords of the Privy Council, the judges, and various members of the nobility.⁴

An admirer, who signed himself "W.W.," wrote some flattering verses on Ward's accession to the office of Lord Mayor, and Richard Janeway published them—

"Since next the King, to him we owe all things,
Peace, Plenty, Trade, and Money-offerings,
For by his wise Conduct and Prudence high
He'll make our Fame reach to the starry sky.

Patience by name, a Virtue great and high,
Burning and shining like the Sun in the sky:
Endowed with learning and such famous Arts
That by their force he soon will gain our hearts,
Adorning of him in his humane Race,
More than his Indian Pearl or his Gold Lace.
Since Virtue's a colour of that deep hue
That 'tis as rich as the gay Rainbow's blue,
The Merchant traffiques where he please to go,
So Virtue trades with Heaven and Earth below.

In short, welcome great Sir, unto your Seat,
A place of Honour and of high Retreat.
Great Sir, all happiness attend you still,
That you may pass the great gunshot of ill,

¹ The Speech of the Rt. Hon. Sir Patience Ward, Lord Mayor Elect, at Guildhall, 29th September 1680: London, 1680.

² *D.N.B.*

³ London's Glory, or the Lord Mayor's Show.

⁴ Luttrell: *Diary*.

And when Death summons you, that you appear
 You shall with angels gay, look bright and clear.
 I leave you, as a president for sages
 To future times and to succeeding Ages."¹

The London monument erected on Fish Street Hill in memory of the Great Fire of London in 1666 was placed there by Act of Parliament. Begun in 1671, and finished in 1677, it bore originally two inscriptions, one reporting the fact of the fire, the other the King's care in relieving his subjects and rebuilding the city. The monument was intended as a memorial of the wonderful cessation of the fire at that place. Ward turned it into an attack on the Roman Catholics. During his year of office as Lord Mayor he caused this inscription to be engraved on it—

"This pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of the most dreadful burning of this Protestant city. Begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the Papists, in the beginning of September in the year of our Lord 1666. In order to the carrying on their horrid plot for extirpating the Protestant Religion, the Old English Liberty and introducing Popery and Slavery. Patientia Ward, Esq., Prætor London. Anno Dom. 1681."

That the Roman Catholics were responsible for the burning of London was a slander utterly without foundation; but the inscription remained for years. It was obliterated under James II, renewed after the Revolution, and finally removed in 1830.² It provoked Pope's lines—

" London's column, pointing at the skies,
 Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies."³

Another writer was responsible for the following—

"That Sniffing Whig-Mayor, Patience Ward,
 To this damned Lie had such Regard,
 That he his Godly Masons sent
 T'Ingrave it round the Monument.
 They did so; but let such things pass,
 His Men were Fools and he an Ass."⁴

Not content with the inscription on the monument, the Lord Mayor caused another inscription to be engraved on the bake-

¹ A Congratulatory Poem on Sir Patience Ward: London, 1680.

³ Pope: *Moral Essays* II, ii, 339-40.

² Bell: *Great Fire*, p. 209.

⁴ T. Ward: *England's Reformation*, Canto IV, 1710.

house at No. 25 Pudding Lane, built on the site where the fire began—"Here by the Permission of Heaven, Hell broke loose upon this Protestant City from the malicious hearts of barbarous Papists by the hand of their Agent Hubert, who confessed, and on the Ruines of this Place declared the Fact for which he was hanged (vizt) that here began that dredfull Fire, which is described and perpetuated on and by the neighbouring Pillar. Erected Anno 1681 in the Majoralitie of Sr. Patience Ward, Kt."¹ The stone is now in the Guildhall Museum.

On 10th January 1681 Parliament was prorogued until the 20th. That same day an address was presented to the Lord Mayor from a number of eminent London citizens. Apprehensive of the dangers to Protestants from Papists, and surprised at the prorogation of Parliament, they asked that the watch at night should be doubled, that some house-keepers should watch in person, and that watch should be kept night and day. They urged that chains should be placed across the streets at night, that the keys of the city should be in the keeping of the Lord Mayor every night, that on Sundays the gates should be locked and only the wickets opened, and that no armed bands except the trained bands should be allowed to march through the city. They begged the Lord Mayor to order immediately a meeting of the Common Council. Sir Patience replied that he too was apprehensive of danger, that he had already taken steps to ensure the keeping of full watches, and he promised that he would personally go the rounds to see that they were kept.

On 13th January the Common Council received a petition urging the Lord Mayor, aldermen and councillors to petition the King to recall Parliament, in order to protect the country from popery. The deputation presenting it was thanked, and a committee of the Common Council was appointed, with instructions to draw up a petition to King Charles. It was speedily prepared, and presented to the King next evening by the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, three aldermen, namely Sir John Laurence, Sir Joseph Sheldon and Sir James Edwards, and six common councillors. In it the petitioners reminded the King how there had been a great popish plot. There were still four popish lords in prison whose punishment had not yet been determined. There was a plot in Ireland to massacre all the Protestants: the House of Commons had impeached Sir William Scroggs and other judges, and yet to the petitioners' surprise Parliament had been pro-

¹ Hist. MSS. Com. X, iv, 175.

rogued. In conclusion, they urged His Majesty to protect his own precious life and the lives of his petitioners from the great dangers that threatened.¹

At the Parliamentary elections on 16th February the candidates at Pontefract were Sir John Dawney (later Viscount Downe), Sir Patience Ward and Sir John Kay, and the first two were elected.² This was the third time in succession that Ward had been elected for his native place.

On 28th March 1681 King Charles dissolved the Oxford Parliament, to the great wrath of the Whig party. On the 13th May the Common Council agreed by a majority of fourteen to petition the King that he would call a Parliament and continue its sittings until sufficient measures had been taken for the security of His Majesty's person and people. The Lord Mayor was requested to present the petition to the King. The deputation attended at Court, but failed to obtain access to the King's presence. They were told, however, to appear at Hampton Court on 19th May; but when they did so they were curtly dismissed. The Grand Jury at the Old Bailey thanked Sir Patience for his care for the Protestant religion shown in presenting the address.³ Common Hall also thanked him on 24th June and requested him to present an address to the King assuring him that their last petition represented the real feeling of their assembly. After some delay, Ward and some of his colleagues were allowed to present this new address on 7th July. Charles plainly showed his annoyance at their officiousness and practically told them to mind their own business. There was an opposition petition from "many thousands of the most eminent citizens and inhabitants of the City of London, his Majesty's loyal subjects," addressed to the Lord Mayor and aldermen, who were requested to present it to the King. The signatories thanked King Charles for dissolving the Oxford Parliament and declared that they were prepared with their lives and fortunes to defend him against all opposition, to maintain the established religion and the government in Church and state, as settled by law. It would be gall and wormwood to Ward to have to present that.⁴

In February 1681 he had been ill,⁵ but apart from this he was

¹ *Vox Patriæ*, or the Resentment and Indignation of the Free-born Subjects of England against Popery, Arbitrary Government, the Duke of York or any Popish Successor: London, 1681.

² Reresby: *Memoirs*.

³ Guildhall Library: London Pamphlets XII, no. 12. Luttrell: *Diary*, i, 84, 87, 89.

⁴ *Vox Angliæ*, 1682.

⁵ Luttrell: *Diary*, 4th Feb. 1681.

in the forefront of the political struggles of this troubled year. He was a marked man, and on 9th May the Commission for choosing a new lieutenancy left his name out. His Whig friends knew to whom to turn for help. On 3rd July 1681 John Rouse, who had been committed to the Tower for high treason five days previously, petitioned Sir Patience Ward as Lord Mayor, together with the rest of the Commissioners at the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, that he might be either tried or admitted to bail at that sessions.¹ On August 31st the grand jury of the city of London returned hearty thanks to the Lord Mayor and the two sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, for the good service they had done the city in the execution of their office.² But Slingsby Bethel himself appeared for trial at the Southwark Quarter Sessions on 5th October, on a charge of assault at the Southwark election in the previous February. The case came before Sir Patience Ward, Sir Thomas Allen, Sir William Hooker, Sir Thomas Bloodworth, Sir James Edwards, and Justice Piers. The jury found the accused guilty and he was fined. Ward and Allen thought 3s. 4d. would be enough: the rest insisted on a larger sum, and finally they compromised on five marks.³

On 24th November 1681 the trial of Lord Shaftesbury took place. On the morning of the trial a man named Sampson went to Sir Patience, and declared on oath that money had been offered him to bring false evidence against the accused. Ward took care that this information was brought to the notice of the jury before the trial began, and it may be safely assumed that it had considerable influence on their verdict.⁴

In December it was reported to the Duke of Ormonde that Lord Essex, Lord Howard, Sir Patience Ward, the two late sheriffs, and several others, had been, and still were busy collecting information daily against those who had tried to counter the Popish Plot story with a story of a Presbyterian plot, and intended when Parliament met to prove that the Presbyterian plot was a sham.⁵ There was a strong reaction in favour of the King, however, after the dismissal of the Oxford Parliament, and some of those who had opposed the government found themselves turned out of the city lieutenancy: Sir Patience Ward lost his commission as colonel of one of the trained-band regiments.

During his year of office the Lord Mayor presented his portrait

¹ C.S.P.D. 416/40, 3rd July 1681.

² Luttrell: *Diary*.

³ *The Trial of Slingsby Bethel, Esq.*: London, 1681.

⁴ Hist. MSS. Com.: Ormonde MSS. VI, p. 264. Newsletters, Admiralty, Greenwich Hosp., I, No. 156.

⁵ C.S.P.D. 417/145, 14th Dec. 1681.

to the Company. A minute of the Court, dated 8th April 1681, ordered the half-length picture to be returned to his lordship (probably the one previously referred to), and the thanks of the Court for the new picture he had given them.

The Great Fire of London was much in his thoughts, as we have seen, and towards the end of his year of office the Corporation resolved to undertake a free insurance business for the benefit of the citizens.¹ One suspects that there was a subtle piece of anti-popery propaganda in it, as if they said, "The Papists will burn London again: the Government will do nothing to save you, but we will do what we can for you."

On October 7th 1681 wrote Sir John Reresby, "I dined with the Lord Mayor of London,² one of the faction, where some reflection being cast upon the Court, I answered it the best I could. One cannot imagine how every little fellow undertook to answer the King and his proceedings at that time."³

As Lord Mayor he was succeeded by Sir John Moore, who represented the revulsion of feeling against the "no-popery" madness of the last few years. Moore spoke contemptuously of the plot, and was much more inclined to believe that the Presbyterians were plotting than that the Papists were. He said that if he were elected he would not be a Clayton or a Ward. He was elected, and when he had finished his speech of thanks to those who had chosen him, the outgoing Lord Mayor addressed the assembly, thanking God for the peace and quiet which had attended him during his time of office, and the city for its cheerful assistance; and praying for the blessing of God on the King, the Protestant religion, and the great city of London.⁴

Sir Patience Ward's life, however, was not all politics. The church of St. Mary Abchurch had been burnt down during the Great Fire. At a vestry meeting, held on 10th March 1681, Mr. John Grove declared that he had understood that the Rt. Hon. Sir Patience Ward, knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London, desired to know of the parish what they would request his lordship to do towards the rebuilding of the parish church of St. Mary Abchurch. It was thereupon ordered that Mr. John Poynter, Mr. Edward Woodgate, Mr. Peter Causton, Mr. Thomas Grayson, Mr. Richard Taylor and Mr. Shephard, or any three of them, with one or both of the churchwardens, be appointed a

¹ Webb: *Hist. of the Monument*, p. 135.

³ Reresby: *Memoirs*.

⁴ Adm., Green. Hosp. Newsletters

² This was Patience Ward. His successor had not yet been sworn in, I, no. 138,

committee forthwith to attend his lordship and know his pleasure—what he would be pleased to do for the parish in order to the rebuilding of the church—and to report his lordship's answer to the next vestry. Also, if need be, they were to meet such of the parishioners of St. Lawrence Pountney as should be appointed to treat about the same, and to report their conference about it at the next vestry. It must be remembered that the church of St. Lawrence was not rebuilt after the Fire. The church of St. Mary Abchurch served both parishes.

At the next meeting, on 21st June, at which nineteen persons were present, the committee reported that they had been prevented from waiting on Sir Patience Ward for some time owing to his ill-health; but they had now interviewed him, and he had informed them that he had used his interest as Lord Mayor to procure an order for the speedy rebuilding of the parish church. It now, he told them, behoved the parish and the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney to apply to Sir Christopher Wren, the King's Surveyor-General, and other persons concerned, so as to carry on and forward the work. The committee had also conferred with the parishioners of St. Lawrence Pountney, who had received the same advice from Sir Patience, and who had agreed to do their share.¹

An "undertaking," as it was called, which was begun early in 1681, appealed to Ward both on its business and on its religious side. This was the formation of a company known as the "Adventurers in the stock raised for setting poor French Protestants to work at Ipswich in the linen manufacture." The "adventurers," who were nearly seventy in number, subscribed sums ranging from £5 to £80 apiece. Ward was one of them, and his friend Papillon, a city merchant of Huguenot ancestry, was treasurer.² With another London merchant of Huguenot extraction named Dubois, Papillon was proposed for sheriff in the following June, when the riotous behaviour of the electors, and the shameless trickery with regard to the polling, made the whole business a scandal and a disgrace to the City of London.

It was manifest that Ward would do all he could for those of his own party. Early in January 1682 two informers went to him as a magistrate to report that Lockyer, a non-conformist minister, had been preaching in his meeting-house in Crooked Lane; but Sir Patience refused to see them.³ There are among

¹ Vestry Books, St. Mary Abchurch.

² A. E. W. Papillon: *Life of Thomas Papillon* (Reading, 1887), pp. 117–19.

³ C.S.P.D. 418/30, 1st Jan. 1682.

the State Papers two papers containing "Remarks by Justice Warcupp." The first is dated 1st March 1682. It states that Sir Patience Ward received information from Mrs. Fitz-Harris, Bolron, Norris, Mowbray, Zeale and other Popish Plot informers. Sir Thomas Allen and Sir Robert Clayton took other informations. They had not delivered these informations at the next sessions; there had been no prosecutions on them, nor had the informations been brought before the Council or Ministers if they concerned the King and the public. It was imagined that these informations were being kept back in order to mislead prosecutions and to inflame Parliament, and that they would be useful in the defence against the Earl of Shaftesbury's actions. Mr. Sanders, one of the King's counsel, was of opinion that these justices, in keeping back evidence from the Council, might be subjecting themselves to an appeal in the Crown Office. It was proposed that the three should be brought before the Privy Council to answer for their conduct."¹ Mr. Sanders was further of the opinion that a Privy Councillor might send for a justice of the peace and demand from him such information as concerned the state. The King and his ministers ought to know, and to hide information was contempt. These informations had been kept back out of sinister intent, and yet copies were being distributed among the malcontents.²

Ward seems to have had a great many of the political depositions sworn before him. On 4th May 1681 Owen Callaghan, Murtagh Downing and Bernard Dennis, three of the discreditable Irish witnesses to the Popish Plot, had done so.³ In August Edmund Everard laid information that Jerome Batty, the leader of the apprentices who had been making trouble in London, had taken upon himself to receive on oath the depositions of an Irish priest named Murphy against some of the most eminent persons of the Court, in which were such reflections against the King as savoured of treason. Nevertheless, by the intrigues of Shaftesbury, Sheriff Pilkington, and others, Sir Patience Ward had received the said information, and had been enjoined to keep it very secret.⁴ John Smith, another of the informers, put in a paper in which he said that Edward Murphy had laid information before Sir Patience Ward against several persons of quality about the Court, that there were some who wished to suborn him to swear incriminating statements against several persons about the city, and that the King allowed him a pension. Smith further

¹ C.S.P.D. 418/127, 1st March 1682.

² C.S.P.D. 418/128.

³ *The Irish Evidences Convicted by*

their own Oaths, by W. Hetherington: London, 1682.

⁴ C.S.P.D. 420/8, 5th Aug. 1682,

said that Murphy acted at the instigation of Batty, the captain of the apprentices.¹

Two informers were brought before Sir Patience Ward for breaking open a Quaker's house where an unlawful conventicle was being held, and he promptly committed them to Newgate.² He hated the Romanists and would listen to any story against them, but he would give no assistance to those who wished to attack his Protestant brethren.

In 1682 he seemed prosperous and successful, politically and otherwise. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in that year, and was held in respect by the City corporation. He was one of the committee appointed by the Common Council "for making the defence against the writ of *quo warranto*" which had been recently issued as the beginning of an enquiry into the City Charter.

In the latter part of 1682, however, Ward was being watched very closely. It was reported to Jenkinson, the King's secretary, in December that Sir Thomas Player, Sir Patience Ward, Mr. Hawkins, and Sir Robert Clayton had dined together at a little alehouse on Snow Hill, where they were planning how to win the election of Hawkins as alderman for Farringdon Ward. They were working for him daily: their emissaries were urging people to vote for Hawkins, using as one of their arguments that they had lately paid £200 more in taxes than ordinary, through not having a resident alderman in the ward. There was a great resort daily to their houses. Among these visitors were believed to be persons of quality; but as they came in hackney coaches in the evening, it was hard to discover who they were.³

In 1682 James, Duke of York, brought an action of *scandalum magnatum* against Pilkington, some-time Sheriff, and the case was tried before a Hertfordshire jury on 12th November. Evidence was given that on the Duke's return from Scotland earlier in the year it was proposed that the Lord Mayor and aldermen should wait on him to congratulate him. On the day on which this was proposed, Sir William Hooker, Sir Harry Tulse, Sir Patience Ward, and Alderman Pilkington were all in the Long Gallery, or ante-chamber to the Council Room, in the Guildhall, and the matter came up in the course of conversation. Pilkington said "He hath burnt the city and is come to cut our throats." The

¹ C.S.P.D. 420/9, 5th Aug. 1682.

³ C.S.P.D. 421/107, 3rd Dec. 1682;

² Adm., Green. Hosp. Newsletters 421/125, 10th Dec. 1682, II, No. 64, 21st Dec. 1682,

jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to pay £100,000 damages. As he could not do so, he remained in prison for the debt till 1686, when he received a pardon from James and was set at liberty.

Sir Patience Ward, brought as a witness, denied that Pilkington had used the words alleged, and said he had not been present when the Duke of York was mentioned, and that there had been no talk about cutting throats. He affirmed that what Pilkington said was that Hubert had burnt the city. When his evidence was questioned he said he had as good a memory as any man in England. It was thought at the time that Ward was likely to be charged with perjury.¹ On the 21st April 1683 Henry Crispe, the Common Serjeant, wrote to Secretary Jenkins: "I wish you would recommend the indictment against Sir Patience Ward once more to Mr. Attorney's care."² His or somebody's advice was taken and Ward was indicted on a charge of perjury.

The trial took place before Jeffreys at the Old Bailey, on 19th May 1683. There was a good deal of contradictory statement as to whether he had given his evidence positively or only "to the best of his remembrance." It does not seem to have been denied that his evidence was false when he swore that there was no mention of the Duke burning the city or cutting of throats, and that Pilkington was not present when there was some talk of the Duke of York; but desperate efforts were made to prove that he had not been aware of its falsity. Sir William Hooker was called, and swore that Pilkington had uttered the words charged against him. There was some evidence that Ward had tried to turn the matter by laying his hand on Pilkington's mouth or breast and saying "Oh, you mean Hubert," with reference to the burning of the city. It was urged that even if Ward had sworn wrongly, no one was injured, for the Duke of York had won his case. Witnesses were brought to testify that Sir Patience was a man of long-standing good character for truthfulness and honesty. Counsel for the prosecution argued that the words alleged had been sworn to by persons of unspotted reputation, not only at the trial of Pilkington, but again in their hearing. Blaney, the shorthand-writer, brought his notes of what had been said and done at the trial, but on cross-examination said he could not be sure that he had omitted nothing, and appealed to those present as to whether he had ever left out anything material or falsified

¹ Adm., Green. Hosp. Newsletters
II, No. 63.

² C.S.P.D. 423/115.

anything. His evidence, like that of the dozen witnesses on Ward's side, was that Ward had not spoken positively, but as to the best of his knowledge and belief. After long consideration the jury found him guilty, and he, hearing that he was to be sentenced to the pillory, absconded.¹

After the Revolution, when a desire was shown to reverse the sentences which had been passed against the Whig martyrs and confessors, the attainders of Russell and Sydney, for example, as well as other sentences, were reversed. Among other things it was alleged that excessive costs had been demanded from the accused by the Treasury officials. Two of these, Graham and Burton, gave answers in the House of Commons to a charge of exacting exorbitant expenses for prosecuting Russell, Sydney, Armstrong, Brandon, Delamere, Sir Patience Ward, and others. Their answer gave the details of the costs in a number of these cases. In the cases of Ward and Sir Thomas Pilkington they were "not all brought to account," and Burton had nothing to do with them.² This probably means that as Ward had absconded, the government officials had been unable to recover their costs.

The State Papers contain a number of further informations laid against him. Some of the stories were of the obviously lying type of which so many were heard at that time of the Popish Plot. Thus, on 2nd July 1683, a certain William Ward laid information that in 1665 he was at Powys Castle, and there heard from a priest named Parry, and a Frenchwoman, that London would be burnt in 1666. During the last Parliament but one the informant had expressed his belief in the guilt of the papists. In 1681 Sir William Waller, having heard of this, sent for the witness, ordered him to write out his statement, carried him to the lobby of the House of Commons, where Sir William Pulteney was fetched out to receive his sworn testimony. Pulteney and Waller then desired him to take his story to the Lord Mayor, Sir Patience Ward; but the last-named sent him to Lord Shaftesbury, who asked many questions. Parliament was prorogued and then dissolved, and another called at Oxford, and Shaftesbury, Sir Patience, and Sir William Waller desired him to go thither. The suggestion was, of course, that they were going to use him to stir up the dead flames of the Popish Plot.³ The Oxford Parliament, however, was too short-lived for anything to be done.⁴ This evidence was given when the tide of public feeling had

¹ *State Trials*, iii, 661-84. "The Proceedings at the Trial of Sir Patience Ward"; London, 1683.

² Kenyon MSS., p. 264.

³ C.S.P.D. 427/13, 2nd July 1683.

⁴ C.S.P.D. 424, 24.

turned completely against the Whigs. About the same time another witness, whose name does not appear, but was perhaps John Rouse, announced his willingness to give evidence against Sir Patience Ward and several others.¹ But before that time Ward had been tried and had absconded.

A few days before this a certain Adam Charlton had also laid information. For four or five years past he had been employed as a watchman three nights a week at the Chamber of London. During the last parliament at Westminster, and many times since, particularly after the prorogation of the Oxford Parliament, meetings were held about nine o'clock at night at the house of Sir Thomas Player, Chamberlain of London. Among those who attended he had noticed Sir Patience Ward, Sir Robert Clayton, Aldermen Cornish and Ellis, Jekell, Jenks, Shute, Pilkington, and others. One night, about March last, he saw the Duke of Monmouth arrive privately in a hackney coach at nine o'clock, when several of the others named were gathered together.² The paper of this is torn, and the author is uncertain; but it is evidence that the government were busily searching for evidence against Ward. It was even remembered that the petition of the prentices was made while he was Lord Mayor,³ the suggestion being that he encouraged it. On 20th July 1683 Henry Bucke, apprentice to John Noyes, made a statement that he had burnt a lot of printed papers in his master's house, all of which were printed addresses to Sir Patience Ward during the time of his mayoralty—except one, which was about the election of sheriffs.⁴ What the purport of these printed papers may have been is not stated, but the suggestion was, of course, that they were seditious.

Before escaping abroad, Ward seems to have lain concealed in London, part of the time at the house of Bateman, the surgeon who was found guilty of the Rye House Plot and executed in December 1685. Shaftesbury had found refuge there before him.⁵ The government, victorious, turned seven London aldermen out of their office, and Ward was one.⁶ His enemies made merry over his departure—

“ Patience, the joy of the Town,
The comfort and hope of the crowd,
Patience who got renown
By perjury, lies and fraud:

¹ C.S.P.D. 429/45, July 1683.

² C.S.P.D. 429/45, July? 1683.

³ C.S.P.D. 429/35.

⁴ C.S.P.D. 429/84, 20th July 1683.

⁵ Hist. MSS. Com.: MSS. of Marquess Downshire, i, 71, 77.

⁶ Hist. MSS. Com.; Kenyon MSS., p. 167,

Patience who ne'er had the heart
 His sovereign's rights to maintain:
 But Patience he had the art
 To swear and forswear again."¹

A mock-puritan sermon on the failure of the Whig party and the election of the loyal sheriffs was published under the title of *A Lecture held forth at a Conventicle. Before the Departure of Sir Patience Ward and many more of our Dear Brethren in Tribulation*. The following savage description, like a caricature, gives by its very exaggerations some idea of his personal appearance: "His ears are of the largest size, his visage swarthy, long and meagre, his looks sour, each eye sunk deep beneath its respective brazen brow, looks like the snuff of a farthing candle just expiring in a socket, his long-shaped nose like a probe."²

When London lost its Charter, someone wrote *London's Lamentation: or an Excellent New Song on the City of London's charter*. To the tune of Packington's Pound—

"Alas for the brethren! What now must they do
 For choosing Whig sheriffs and burgesses too?
 The charter with Patience is gone to the pot
 And the Doctor is lost in the depth of the Plot."

The doctor, of course, being Titus Oates.

Ward ultimately escaped to Holland.³ In 1684 he was reported to be at Utrecht, but to be avoiding those of the Rye House plotters who were in that town.⁴ His wife died in Holland on the 24th December 1685, and was buried in the Great Church at Amsterdam. In 1686 he was still at Utrecht.

The records of the Merchant Taylors' Company note that on 7th March 1687 Sir Patience Ward's picture had been sent to his brother, Mr. John Ward, and the Court ordered their Clerk to wait on Mr. John Ward and ask for it back. The request was evidently complied with, for the accounts for 1687–88 include the following: "For mending frame and beautifying Sir Patience Ward's picture, £2."⁵ He had evidently been restored to favour in the company. In April 1687 his pardon had been procured for him by the Earl of Middleton,⁶ and on the 10th February 1687–88, by his attorney, he pleaded the King's pardon for his

¹ *The Hue and Song after Patience Ward*: 1683.

² *The Alarum: or an Hue and Cry after Sir Patience Ward*: 1683.

³ Luttrell: *Diary*, i, 259.

⁴ C.S.P.D. 435/52, 19th Jan. 1684.

⁵ F. M. Fry: *The Pictures of the Merchant Taylors' Company*; London, 1907; pp. 80–82.

⁶ H. of L. MSS., 1689–90, p. 307.

conviction of perjury.¹ During his absence abroad he had kept up a correspondence with Thomas Papillon,² who was also in exile. Here is a letter from Ward to Papillon—

My honoured and good Friend, Spa, 2nd July 1688.

Sir,

Tho' temptation hath so much prevailed on public faith, and its affections seemed once to have retreated into their winter state, yet as a spring may come, with a renovation of all things—which the faith that makes not haste waits for—so there are or may be particulars, who through grace surmounting all difficulties of times, compassionate the fallen, and rejoice and maintain a concern for those who stand firm the shock of trials, and it is the errand of this, Sir, to enquire after your own, and your Lady's and relations' health, so much by me wished, with the continuance of it unto those noble ends, which I am sure of your great diligence towards, that I may in the words of the Divine John to his beloved Gaius, wish above all things that you may prosper and be in health as your soul prospers.

After the conduct of my Nephew and Niece to the French border (to whose Government you know the size of my affection) I took the further tour of Flanders, the pleasure whereof I will not recommend to a friend's trouble (otherwise than as circumstances which vary cases, as my own, may prevail), and at last I arrived here at the Spa; whither my Lord Sutherland who had spent six weeks at Aix, came, and for about fourteen days hath given me the honour and benefit of his conversation, and command of his great respects to you and Madam; and here I abide as in a place and diet apted to contemplation, with the advantage of health, which I hope with the Lord's blessing for a continuance of, and hence dispose my wanderings as the Lord shall direct, till I come to some little repose, as I would once hope to the body, which not without much difficulty can be brought subject to the law of the Divine mind: Many have been the experiences of God in our early days as provision for our later times, but we have been left thereto but suitable additions to our growing occasions; and when I compare sufferings with deliverances, and amongst them the infatuations befallen

¹ Luttrell: *Diary*, i, 431.

² Papillon: *Thomas Papillon of London, Merchant*, pp. 336–47.

some good men, I conclude with an emphasis or accent, 'What hath the Lord done for us!'

By this time I might expect to hear of your call homewards which I most heartily wish on such terms as most suit your own mind, and that I may have knowledge thereof and of your resolutions therein, that I may attend Madam so far as herself and my occasions (to be allowed of by her) will permit: It's just to allow your inclinations thitherwards a preference to mine, in respect of so much and many nearer relations there, and that you have the happiness to carry along with you well near all you brought forth thence, whilst what was dearest and most valuable to all that I had of this world must be left behind, though not without many a looking back, as those who by endeared affections go backwards and forwards, and are at a straight what to do, but making frequent visits of the last place they left their friend; and however others may judge, I doubt not friends will admit the prevalence of this passion, as a reward to that way which so fair a Guide would otherwise have made me.

And now Sir, with acceptance of my sincere respects and service to yourself and Madam and Relations, will you favour me with the present of the same, as opportunity offers, to Sir John Guise and my Lady, to Mr. Gee and his, and any other of our colony which your prudence serves—not knowing whether you be increased or lessened; the like to our very good friend Mr. Best, to whom (after all our discourse) I pay a most hearty veneration and love on many respects; and will you please the like to Mr. Ledicar; my obligations to Mr. Clough, and that he will favour me with the present to Mr. Wellard and his Lady; and if Mr. Jackson be returned, that he will accept the same and to his Lady, for I may presume upon that tenure.

If you shall favour me with a word of your health, &c., the address to Mr. David Vandenbennd, Marchant, at Cologne, for Mr. Francis Mott, will be sent safely wherever I shall be within a month; for I think it will be two months before I shall get back to Utrecht, and in the interim am as lost in a wood. My respects to your kinsmen, Mr. Walling and Mr. Lafleur, and if you see Mr. Vanheyden, the same; I left one of his books with Mr. Shower of Rotterdam (to whom and his Lady I present due respects) to be restored to him; my Niece's maid had taken it to read, and forgot to restore it.

I do presume upon our mutual prayers, for what the Lord may see best for us, and a compliance with and complacency in His holy will in all things, however cross they may seem to our earthly part; and that the shaking of all things, and present removal of many, may cause our receiving the kingdom which cannot be shaken, and abide therein; that so the vicissitudes of all the earthly estate may have no effect to disturb us, but we may abide as on a rock against all the fluctuations and storms of the world, as those whose minds are stayed on God; on which subject it's unnecessary to enlarge to one so abundant in knowledge and experience as yourself, Sir, whom I desire to retain me in the character of, Dear Sir, your sincere affectionate Friend and Brother.¹

At least thirty-two letters passed between them in the latter half of 1688. They show an acquaintance with what was preparing for William's invasion.

Ward returned to England at the Revolution, and was one of the four City Members elected for the Convention Parliament, which was summoned to meet on 22nd January 1689. The other three were Sir Robert Clayton, Alderman Love, and Mr. Pilkington.² On 5th April a warrant was issued for the appointment of seven Commissioners of Customs, and on the 19th he was made one of these.³ On 31st March he had also received a commission as Colonel of the Blue Regiment of the trained bands.⁴ For the next few years he took a considerable share in public life.

Papillon perhaps had had enough of politics. In October 1689 he was chosen Alderman of Portsoken Ward. He arrived in London on the 11th, and on the 14th a deputation of influential persons from the ward begged him to accept office, but he refused. On Tuesday, the 15th, he attended the Court of Aldermen, and in the Long Gallery at the Guildhall Sir Patience Ward, Sir John Lawrence and other friends, already aldermen, came out to urge him to accept. The Common Crier came, bringing an alderman's gown and orders from the Lord Mayor to invest him with it, but he still persisted in his refusal.⁵

Ward was unsuccessful at the election for Parliament in February 1690; all four Whig members for London lost their

¹ *Memoirs of Thos. Papillon*, pp. 336-9.

² Luttrell, i, 352: *Clarendon Diary*, 9th Jan. 1689.

³ S.P.D. Warrant Book 34, p. 266;

C.S.P.D., 1689-90, p. 53; *MSS. of Marquess Downshire*, i, 307.

⁴ Luttrell: *Diary*, i, 516.

⁵ Papillon: *Memoirs of T. Papillon*, p. 352.

seats.¹ He petitioned the House of Commons in vain, and he lost his colonelcy in that year also, Sir Peter Rich, knight and alderman, succeeding him.² Still he was appointed on the lieutenancy of the City of London that year. His name is on the list of the commission of the 15th March 1689–90, as it had been in the previous year. It was noted at the foot of the list, “or any seven or more of them, whereof one of the *quorum* to be always there.” His name is marked with a Q. as one of the *quorum*, the presence of one of these so marked being necessary to constitute a court.³ He was also re-appointed as Commissioner of Customs.⁴ On 31st March 1690 the Lords appointed a select committee to enquire into the reasons for the high prices of sea-coal in London and Westminster, and what measures should be taken to prevent such in future. Ward was ordered to attend, and gave evidence on 4th April.⁵

At the Vestry Meeting of St. Mary Abchurch, held on Easter Monday (21st April) 1690, Sir Patience Ward having made his request to the parish for a pew in the church for himself and his family, it was ordered and agreed that he “shall have the use of the two pews next adjoining to the south end of the altar-piece in the said church, to be by him (at his charge and pleasure) fitted and made up for him and his family to sit in (exclusive to all others) so long as they shall continue inhabitants in the said parish or in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney in London. Provided always, and it is the intent and meaning of this vestry and by them agreed and declared that it shall and may be lawful on every sacrament day, for all or any of the communicants to take and receive the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in the said pew, according to ancient custom, anything in this order to the contrary notwithstanding.”⁶

On 7th February 1691 Viscount Sydney wrote to Sir Patience Ward, “The Queen being informed that James Dudley stands committed by you to Newgate for publishing false and scandalous news against Lord Lucas, and that Lord Lucas is willing to forgive the same James Dudley his offence; she is therefore pleased to command me to inform you that Dudley may be forthwith discharged from imprisonment.”⁷

¹ Sharpe: *London and the Kingdom*, ii, 533.

² Luttrell: *Diary*, ii, 25; H. of L. MSS., 1690–91, p. 57.

³ H. of L. MSS., 1690–91, p. 45.

⁴ March 17th, H.O. Warrant Book 5, p. 101.

⁵ H. of L. MSS., 1690–91, p. 25.

⁶ Vestry Book, St. Mary Abchurch.

⁷ Home Office Letter Book (Secretary’s) 3, p. 13.

In that same year Ward was re-elected to Parliament.¹ Towards the end of that year the Orphans of London Relief Bill was under discussion in the House of Lords, and it was ordered that the Lord Mayor of London, with counsel, and twenty-four named witnesses, of whom Sir Patience was one, should attend on the 23rd November to be sworn at the Bar.² While the bill was in committee the Lords ordered the Lord Mayor to propose five persons as commissioners, and on 22nd December the Common Sergeant, Sir John Moore and Sir Patience Ward were called in. On their behalf the Common Sergeant explained that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen would have appointed the five commissioners under the act, if they had been capable of doing so, but when they considered the purpose of the bill and its far-reaching effects they felt that having but limited powers themselves the matter was too hard for them, and they therefore submitted to their lordships' wisdom.³ Their excuse seems to have been accepted. On 14th December Ward and Papillon were among the witnesses heard in the Lords on the question of the supply of salt for the navy.⁴

On 6th February 1694 Ward's name appeared in a long list of persons appointed as Commissioners for the Lieutenancy of London.⁵ In that same year we find him, together with certain of his fellow parishioners, engaged in a lawsuit to recover certain funds, which they claimed belonged to the living of St. Lawrence Pountney. The defendants had for three years last past received an annual income of thirty-six shillings, which Ward and his friends asserted should have gone to the income of the benefice.⁶ No evidence seems to remain of the success or otherwise of this lawsuit.

On the 24th March 1696 Sir Patience was compelled through illness to relinquish his office as Commissioner of Customs. He recovered, however, and resumed his duties on the 9th April.⁷ But it was not for long, for he died at his house in St. Lawrence Pountney on 10th July 1696.⁸ In the Treasury Minute Books⁹ there is a minute dated 10th July 1696, "To write to Mr. Blathwayt to represent to the King that Sir Patience Ward is dead this morning. That my lords think it their duty to take notice that there was a supernumerary and his death reduces the com-

¹ Luttrell: *Diary*, iii, 283.

² H. L. MSS., 1690-91, p. 294.

³ H. L. MSS., 1690-91, p. 295.

⁴ H. L. MSS., 1690-91, p. 445.

⁵ C.S.P.D., W. & M., 1694-5, p. 21.

⁶ MS. in the vestry of St. Mary Abchurch.

⁷ Luttrell: *Diary*, iv, 34, 42.

⁸ St. Mary Abchurch Registers.

⁹ Vol. vi, p. 342.

mission to seven, which was the usual number." Sir John Dutton Colt wrote from Bristol to Dr. Arthur Charlett on 13th July, begging that the King might be put in mind of him "for Sir Patience Ward's place, who is now dead."¹ On the 23rd, however, William Blathwayt wrote to Mr. William Lowndes, stating that it was the King's pleasure that the vacancy should not be filled up.²

Sir Patience Ward was buried, by his own desire expressed in his will, in St. Mary Abchurch, in the south corner of the chancel. In the south bay of the east wall is his white marble monument, with his achievement of arms, pilasters, cherubs, flaming urns, palm leaves and a carved figure of Hope—all in the style much beloved in the latter part of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries.³ The monument is situated beneath and partly obscures a stained-glass window, close to which, it is said, stood the Ward family pew. The panel containing the inscription is convex and oval, except that the upper border is flattened, and measures 31 inches by 16 inches. The lettering is faint, but the following is the inscription—

Here Vnder Lye's Interred the body
of S^r Patience Ward, Kn^t, Alderman, &
Lord Maior of London, Anno. 1681. He married
Elizabeth daughter of William Hobson of Hackney
in the County of Middlesex Esqre. Shee departed this
life the 24th of December 1685 (and lyes buried
in the Great Church at Amfterdam) He the
10th of Iuly 1696. without ifsue.

Sir Patience Ward bore arms, *Azure, a cross patonce or*; for crest, *a wolf's head erased or*. Among the MSS. in the Guildhall Library is a folio volume of autographs and armorial bearings of the Lord Mayors of London from the year 1660 onwards. Among these is a water-colour portrait of Sir Patience Ward,⁴ copied from the original painting of him which hangs in Merchant Taylors' Hall. This last represents him in a very full brown wig, a scarlet robe trimmed with fur, a broad collar of point lace, and the mayoral gold chain and badge. With his right hand he touches the badge, while his left hand rests against the table. It is a large picture, just under eight feet by five, and is said to have

¹ *Downshire MSS.*, i, 697.

² *Cal. Treasury Papers, 1557–1696*,
no. 531.

³ See *Royal Hist. Mon., London*
(The City), plates 55 and 87.

⁴ *Guildhall Library MSS.*, Vol. 1,
No. 20.

been painted by Kneller in 1690. The records of the Company say that on 11th June 1688 it was ordered that the picture of Sir Patience Ward be drawn and put up in Hall, while the accounts for 1690-91 contain the entry: "Paid Mr. Lyntenfield Sir Patience Ward's picture £55." No painter of that name is known, and it seems generally admitted that the portrait is by Kneller.¹

His will was dated 4th March 1696, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 7th August in the same year by his nephew and sole executor, John Ward, the second son of his brother Thomas Ward of Tanshelf. This John Ward became an eminent citizen of London, was an alderman, Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1709, knighted in 1714, Sheriff in 1715, Lord Mayor of London in 1719, was a Director of the Bank of England, and ancestor of the Wardes of Westerham in Kent. To his grand-nephew, Patience Ward, the grandson of his eldest brother John, Sir Patience left the sum of £6,000 to purchase land so near as might be found to his own paternal estate. In 1704, when the younger Patience was twenty-four years of age, his uncle John Ward and he purchased from Colonel Robert Byerley of Goldsborough, Yorkshire, and Mary his wife, for the sum of £5,900, the manor of Hooton Pagnell and its appurtenances. That manor remained in the Warde family until in 1878 Sarah Julia Warde, the heiress of the estate, married William Wright Aldam, and the family was thenceforth known as Warde-Aldam.²

During his lifetime Sir Patience Ward received abundance of abuse from his political adversaries. He was an ardent partisan, of course, and the politicians of the seventeenth century were not squeamish in their attacks on their enemies. The only thing we know of him which throws any reflection on his moral character was the accusation of perjury on one occasion: but how many of us can remember exactly what was said in a particular conversation months ago? And no doubt he was influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by his friendship for Pilkington. Apart from this he appears to us as a Puritan Low Churchman who took a real interest in his parish church, a busy merchant with interests at home and abroad, and a man who took an active part in public affairs. A somewhat solemn person, perhaps, with very little sense of humour he would appear from his portrait and from

¹ F. M. Fry: *The Pictures of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (London, 1907), pp. 80-82.

² Ward's will is given in Wilson's *History of St. Lawrence Pountney*, pp. 242-44.

what we know of him otherwise. His hatred of Roman Catholicism, which he shared with a vast number of his fellow-countrymen who had been trained up in such hatred for several generations, led him into gullibility when he took for truth the lies of Titus Oates and his companions. But he must be judged by his times. A God-fearing man, he did his best, according to his lights, to serve God in Church and State.

VIKING AND OTHER RELICS AT CRAYKE, YORKSHIRE.

By T. SHEPPARD, M.Sc., F.G.S.

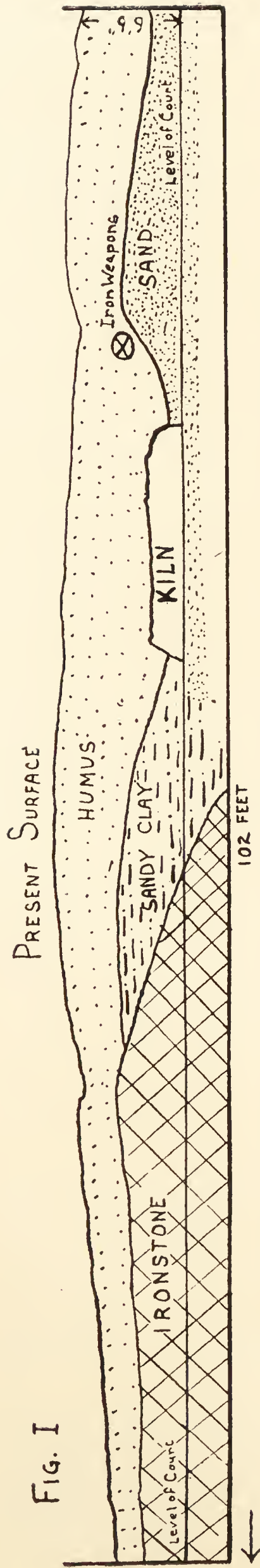
In the autumn of 1937 some discoveries were made at Crayke, near Easingwold, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. At one time the Prince Bishops of Durham had a residence here, which, until a century ago, was a part of the Palatinate of Durham, although surrounded on all sides by Yorkshire.

On the ridge of ironstone which stretches from Cleveland to Lincolnshire, near Crayke Church, Mr. E. M. Rutter, who has recently gone to reside there, decided to convert a gradual slope, adjoining his house, into a tennis lawn. The ridge is 350 feet high at this point and overlooks the Vale of York. Mr. Rutter made the discoveries when cutting into the soil to a depth of six feet. The present writer was invited to visit the site at the time. Mr. Philip Corder, F.S.A., of York, also called, and agreed generally with the conclusions at which we had arrived. Details of the section are shown in Fig. I.

On the level of the new lawn, but at a depth of six feet from the original surface, was a circular hearth, about six feet in diameter, surrounded by a wall of stones, on one side of which was a cavity, evidently forming the flue of a kiln. The base was covered with flat slabs of sandstone, set in a bed of yellow clay eight inches thick, and had obviously been burnt. The kiln, for so it seemed to be, had evidently been repaired at one time, as a second wall occurred within the other, a feature frequently met with in ancient kilns (see Figs. II, III and IV).

The presence of ironstone in the bank a few feet away suggested an early "bloomery"—that is, a furnace for smelting iron. As there was no trace of slag, however, this suggestion must be ruled out. When found, the kiln floor was covered with a mass of calcined clay, five or six inches deep, probably the remains of the superstructure of the kiln. An extensive bed of yellow clay was found close by.

Thirty-four feet away, on a similar level, was another hearth, not in such good condition. It consisted of part of a circular ring of small boulders, which had been in contact with fire, surrounding a mass of partly calcined clay, with quantities of sherds embedded



* SECTION SHOWING POSITION OF KILN ON HILL-SIDE AT CRAYKE.

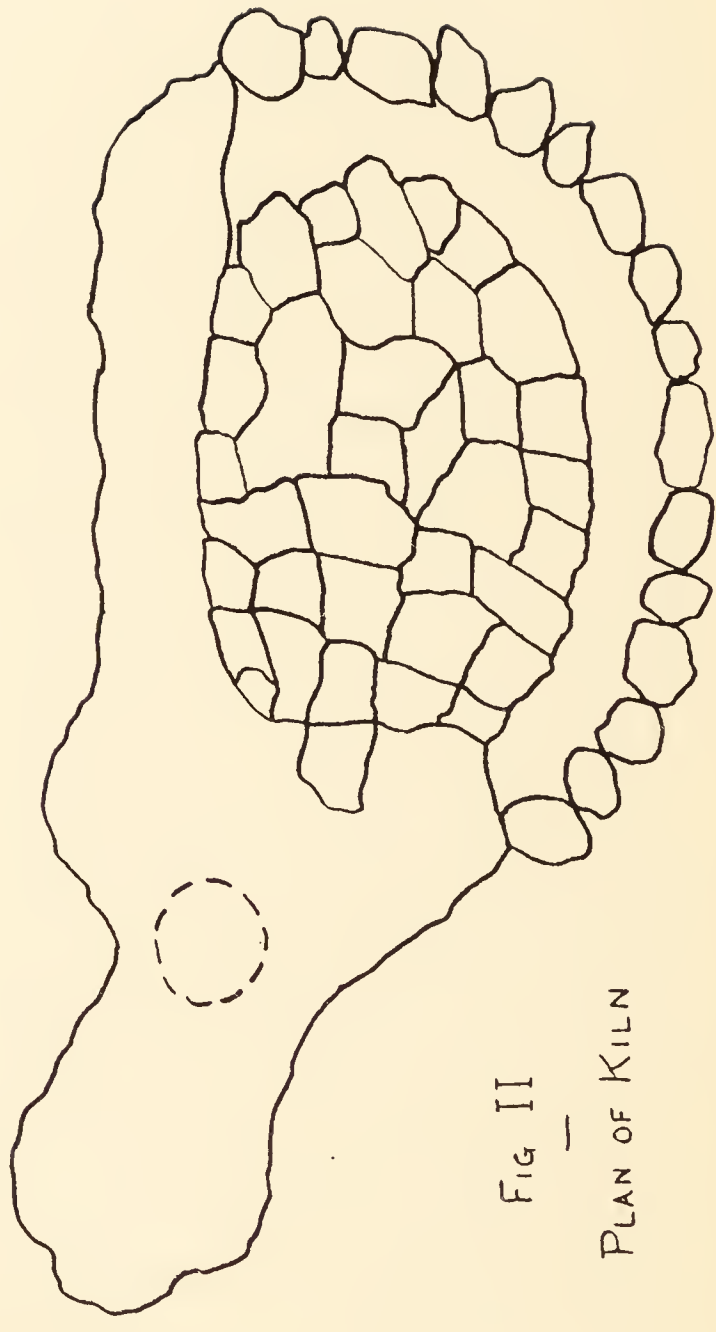


FIG II
—
PLAN OF KILN



Fig. III. View of kiln floor.



Fig. IV. View of kiln floor.

in it. Below this was a layer of black charcoal ash six inches in thickness.

The purpose of this kiln at first seemed doubtful, but over a hundred sherds of jugs and other vessels found in and about it indicate that it was probably a potter's kiln.¹ These sherds are sometimes covered, either inside or out, or both, with a yellowish-green, or dark green, highly polished glaze. The handles to the vases are of the familiar ribbed type, and have two depressions where they were attached to the vase, before baking, by the thumb and finger of the potter.

An examination of the pottery suggests that some of them were "throw-outs"—that is to say, pieces which had collapsed or otherwise had become useless during burning, and some stones were found upon which the glaze had run and left dark polished streaks, indicating that the glazing was done in the vicinity. It has been possible to join some of the fragments of the pottery together, and when an opportunity occurs of examining the collection and sorting the pieces, restorations may be made of some of the vessels. They are distinctly of the Monastic type, that is from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, but, in the present writer's opinion, they are nearer the earlier date.

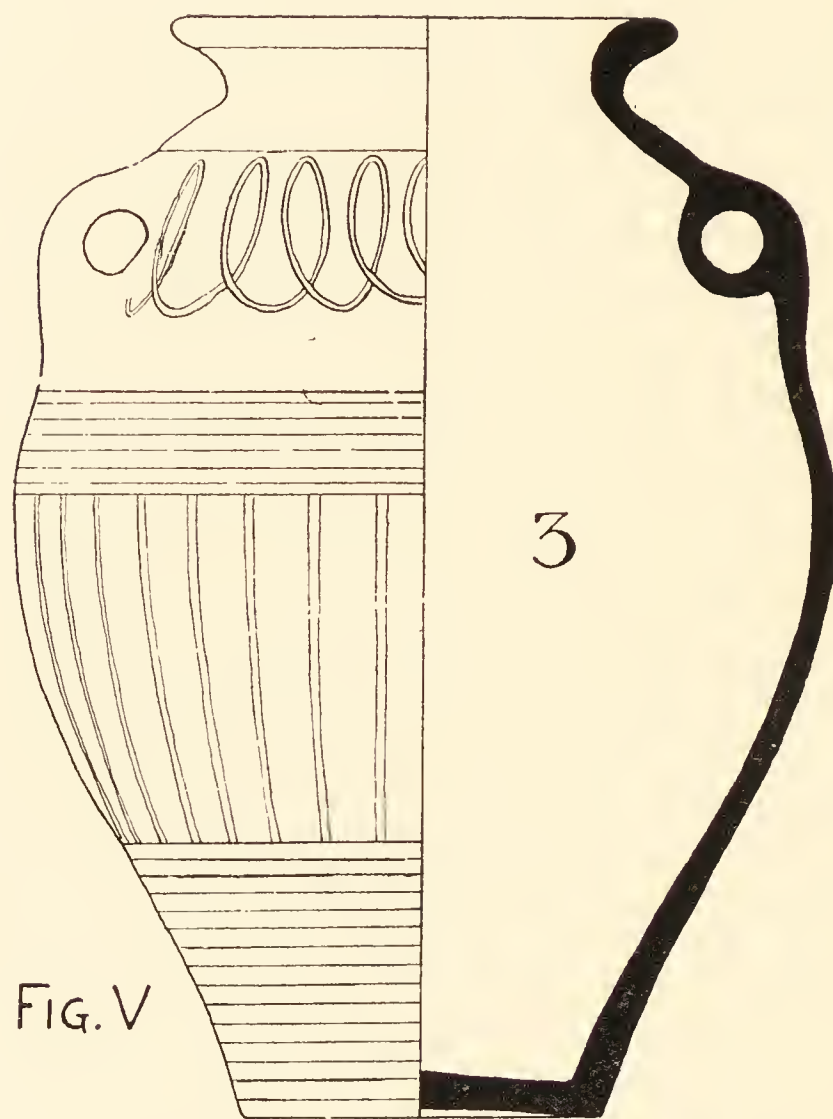
A third structure was found at the south end of the court. It consisted merely of pieces of the neighbouring ironstone, rammed together in the form of a roughly circular floor, about three feet in diameter. The surface of this floor had been burnt to a deep red colour. No objects of interest were found in actual association with it.

That the site has been occupied for centuries was proved by fragments of hard, coarse Roman pottery, and also pieces of larger earthenware vessels of the same period, which had been made of coarse clay, strengthened by small fragments of calcite, or similar material. These were submitted to Mr. Philip Corder, F.S.A., who reported as follows:

"The sherds of Roman pottery submitted to me belong to three types of vessel, all of which were in use in the late fourth century, *c.* A.D. 370–395. The first is the rim of a cooking-pot in calcite-gritted ware of the type which occurs in vast quantities at the coastal signal stations (*Archæological Journal*, lxxxix, type 26), and on late fourth-century sites in Northern Britain. It was first

¹ These fragments have been inspected by Mr. G. C. Dunning, of the London Museum, and identified

by him as being of typical sixteenth-century northern type.



Restoration of vase, fourth century, pieces
of which were found at Crayke.

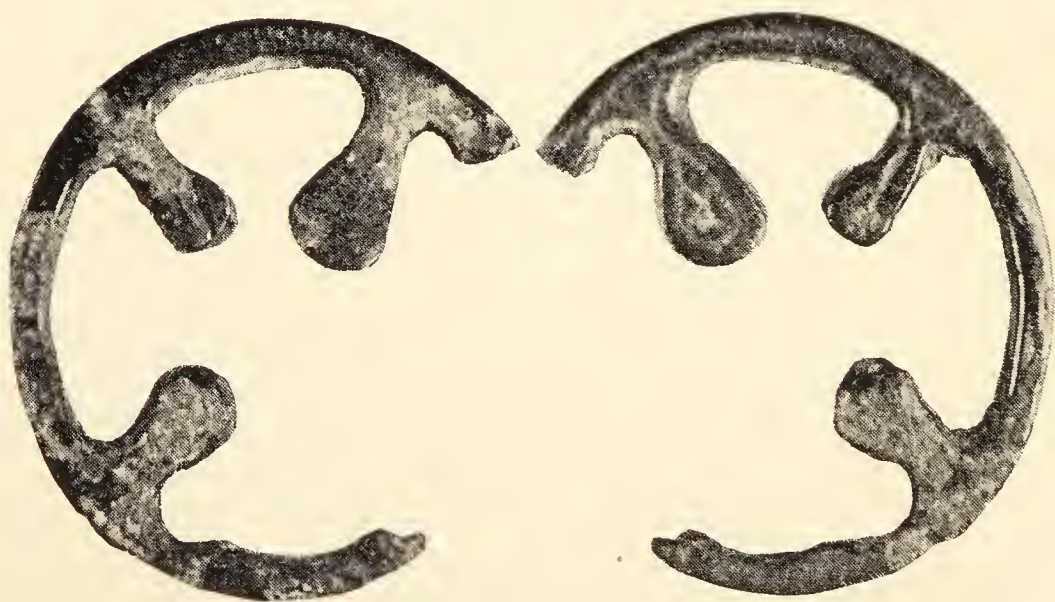


Fig. VI. Saxon Bronze Ring.

dated at Huntcliff (*Journal Roman Studies*, ii, fig. 40, 14–29), and is hence often referred to as the ‘Huntcliff type.’ It was made at Crambeck (type 16), and at Knapton (Langton, fig. 30, 15–18), but other potteries must also have produced it, for it was in universal use during the late fourth century.

“The other rims are from barrel-shaped jars with counter-sunk handles. They were certainly made at Crambeck (*Antiquaries’ Journal*, xvii, fig. 2, types 3 and 3a). Such jars were in use at the signal stations (*loc. cit.*, type 2), but, unlike the cooking-pot described above, they had come into fashion before A.D. 370. Several were found at the bottom of the well at the Langton villa, with a coin of Constantine I (c. A.D. 335–7) in mint condition, and sealed by twenty feet of debris, containing only sherds of c. A.D. 370–395. They seem, however, to have attained their maximum popularity during the last thirty years of the fourth century.

“The whole group therefore indicates that people were living on Crayke hill at the end of the fourth century” (Fig. V).

There were also found some small pieces of Roman glass.

Of Saxon date, there was no pottery; but a beautiful bronze ring was found, with inward projections forming an openwork Maltese or “Greek” cross (Fig. VI). Unfortunately it was broken, but originally it was no doubt a pendant, probably showing the cross as a Christian symbol: there is nothing like it among the many Anglo-Saxon relics in the Mortimer Museum at Hull, which are predominantly of the Pagan period. It measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and is about the thickness of a half-crown. This was submitted to the British Museum, and the following report was supplied by Mr. Christopher Hawkes:

“It evidently belongs to what one may loosely call the ‘Dark Ages.’ Openwork bronze objects are frequent on the Continent in late Gall-Roman and Frankish cemeteries—that is, from the late fourth to the early seventh century A.D., and such rings or discs are common among them. Similar pieces are found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in this country, in the south-east and the midlands, and the thickness and finish of the Crayke example, and its punched surface-ornament, are typical of the work of the period.

“In this disc, however, it is the open space which is formed to make the pattern—a ‘Greek cross’—while the metal itself forms the ‘background’; in the majority of specimens, on the other hand, whether Frankish or Saxon, the metal makes the pattern against a background of open space. The tendency to make the open space in this way a positive element in the design may appear in early

pieces; it occurs, for example, on a specimen in the British Museum from Kempston, Beds., which is perhaps of the fifth century, though the metal is the positive on the otherwise similar piece from there figured in the *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 86.

“ Thus the Crayke fragment could perhaps be referred to an early phase of the Anglian settlement in Yorkshire: it might even just possibly be actually of late Roman age and contemporary with the calcite-gritted pot noticed above. However, the fact that its pattern is a ‘ Greek cross ’ is a stronger argument to the contrary, for the cross in this form is most naturally connected with the spread of Christianity in England from the end of the sixth century onwards, and examples of its occurrence in metalwork, as on the pin-head from Breach Down in Kent (*Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 65), are usually dated shortly after the mission of Augustine. With this context, the Crayke specimen should belong to the first half of the seventh century, the period of the conversion of Edwin of Northumbria and Paulinus’ foundation of the Church of York, and though no exactly similar disc of this period appears to be known, probabilities strongly support this explanation of the Christian symbol thus adapted to the traditional Pagan convention of openwork metal ornaments. Its date will then come quite near the period of the Anglian cross-head to be described below.”

Of a somewhat later period is an arm of a pre-Norman cross. It is square and decorated with a floral design on the back and front. This work is so fine and fresh that obviously the cross had been broken and lost soon after it was made, as it shows no trace of weathering such as would have occurred had it been in the open air any length of time. The stone is of fine grained sandstone, light in colour. It measures seven inches by six inches and is three inches in thickness, the edges being quite smooth and polished, and are stained a reddish colour, though this may be due to the proximity of some of the iron (see figs. VII and VIIA). This fragment was submitted to Mr. T. D. Kendrick, of the British Museum, who reports that:

“ It is a very good example of the clean-cut rather ‘ pretty ’ Carolingian style of Yorkshire, and I would assign it to the first half of the ninth century. It shows a vine-scroll ornament that is undoubtedly of the same family as the earlier Ruthwell and Bewcastle vine-scrolls; but there is a daintiness that seems to remove it from the late seventh-/early eighth-century work. It is to be compared to sculpture like the Easby Cross,¹ the Angel Cross at

¹ A cast and restoration of which are in the Mortimer Museum,



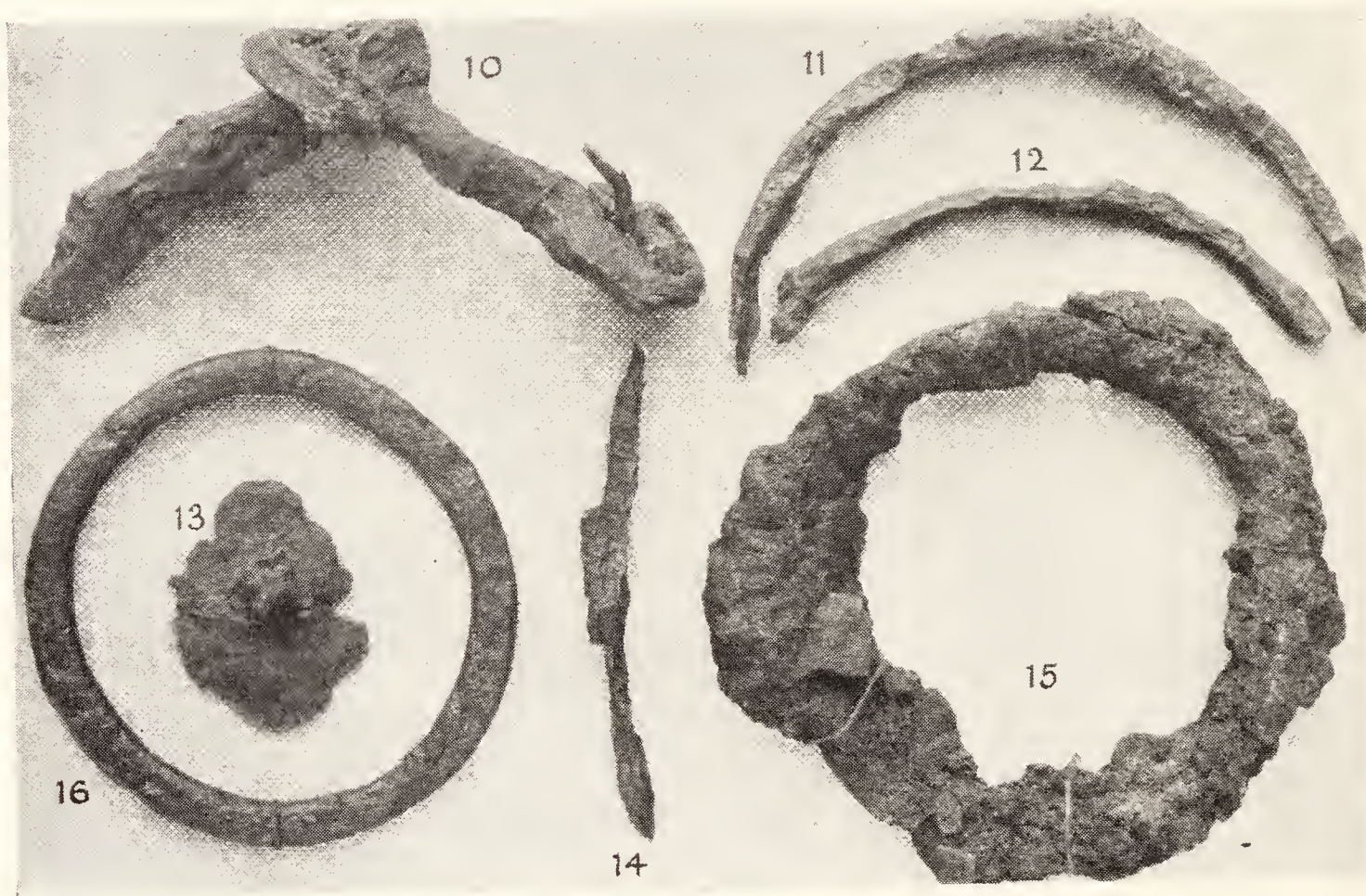
Fig. VII. Arm of Pre-Norman Cross.



Fig. VIIA. Arm of Pre-Norman Cross.



No. 8. One-edged sword.
No. 9. Fragment of sword of probably same type as No. 8.



Nos. 10-16. Iron horse trappings, etc.



Nos. 17-19. Iron axe-head, socketed gouge, etc.

Otley, and the Melsonby Tombstones. Otley shows the long-tongued centre to the flower that exists at Crayke, and a fragment at Dewsbury of another Carolingian Cross has something like the little space-filling turned-back leaf. Furthermore, the edge of the Easby Cross has a scroll with the open design, and drooping branches, to be seen on the back of this carving."

Of still later date were many interesting decorated fragments of "combed" ware and "slip" ware of the seventeenth century. Quantities of oyster shells were also found, though these might be either Monastic or of the late seventeenth-century period.

A few feet above the level of the kiln at Crayke was a layer of burnt material, largely carbonised, about an inch in thickness, and over twenty feet long, which evidently represented the remains of some building, probably of wood, which had been burnt. Among this was a large solid mass of rusty iron, measuring about 2 ft. by 1 ft. by 6 inches, but on subsequently separating the pieces of iron it was apparent that it was a hoard of iron-work, probably belonging to the blacksmith, and at first it was thought to be of the fourteenth century, and possibly from a workshop in connexion with the pottery. Later cleaning and examination, however, indicates that the relics are of the Viking period. They consist of:

A particularly long and well-preserved one-edged sword or scramasax (8), measuring 32 inches, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches at its widest part, the length including $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches for a tang for attachment to a handle. This has been submitted to Mr. Parker Brewis of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who states it is unquestionably Viking and compares it with an example figured in *London and the Vikings*, fig. 16, no. 1. Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, who has also seen this specimen, agrees that it is a Viking scramasax of the eighth century, precisely similar ones dredged from the Thames being in the London Museum.

No. 9. A shorter implement, probably a broken sword of a similar type, measuring $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.

No. 10. This is a double piece of iron fastened together with two loops, which make it movable, and clearly represents part of a horse bit. Attached to this for one cheek was a ring, much corroded, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, two portions of which still remain (11 and 12).

A flat piece of iron from the centre of which a nail protrudes (13), seems to be part of this bridle-bit as a similar nail is attached to one end of the central piece, No. 10.

No. 14 may be a piece of the ring forming the opposite cheek.

There are two other rings which may be of a similar nature. No. 15 is very much oxidized, but is five inches in greatest diameter and averages about one inch in thickness, whereas the other, No. 16, has cleaned up wonderfully well and is a well-made ring, four inches in diameter, rather flat, and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in width.

Next in importance is a broken T-shaped socketed axe-head (17), six inches long, and the cutting edge originally would be six inches in length, though only $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches remain. The socket is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches by one inch. Axes of this type are typical of the Viking period, and one almost precisely similar appears in *London and the Vikings*, fig. 6, type 2.

Another unusual piece, which at first looks like a foot of a sandal, but may have been the fastener to a gate or hook upon which to hang things (18), is nine inches in total length, the flat part being $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Towards the thick end there is a hole perforated which has evidently been used for fastening by means of a nail.

No. 19 is a socketed gouge, six inches in length, with a curved cutting edge.

There are six solid chisel-like pieces but without sockets. Each has a more or less sharp point and is flat at the opposite end. No. 20 is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, No. 21 is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, No. 22 is six inches, No. 23 is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, No. 24 is five inches, and No. 25 is three inches.

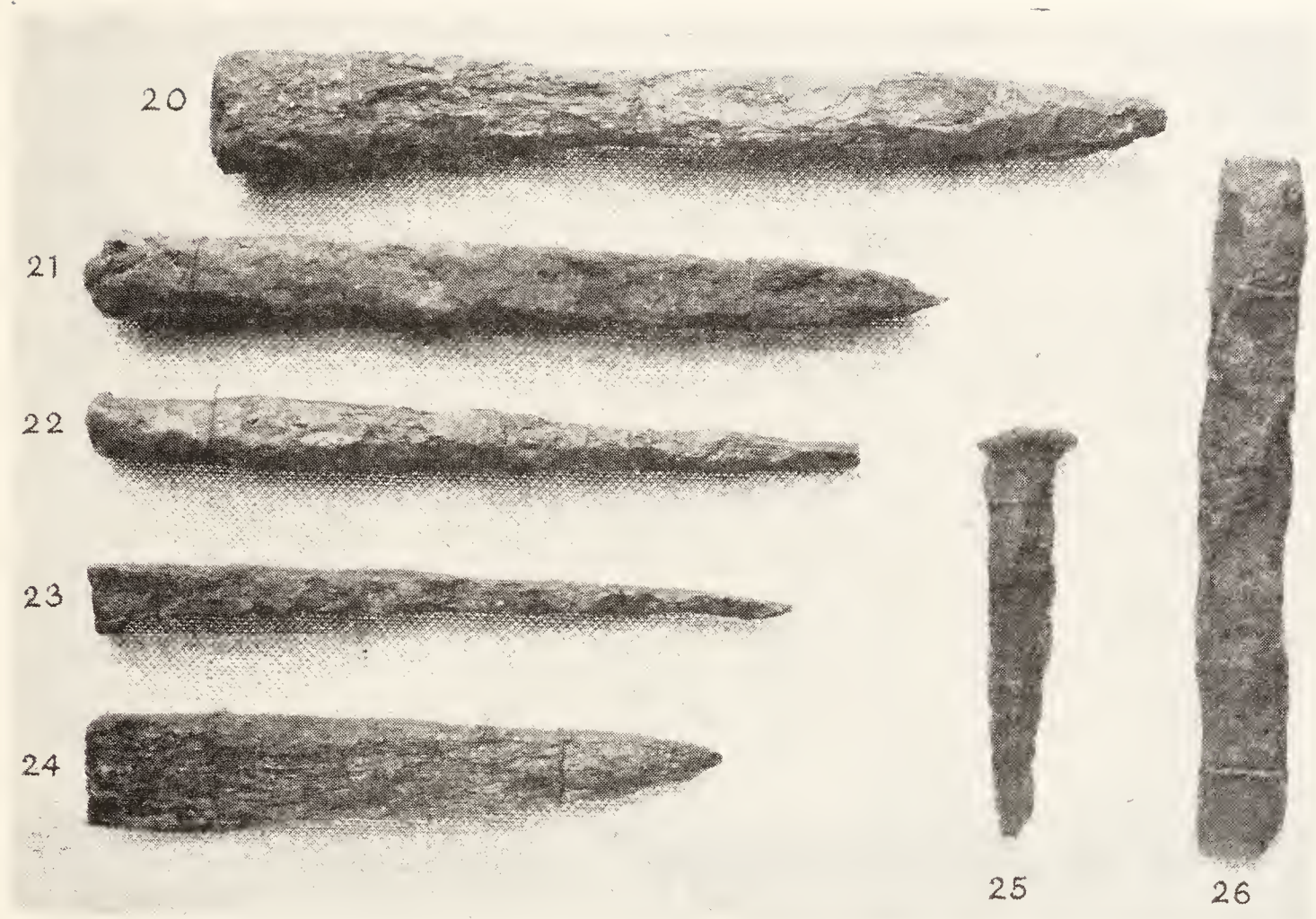
No. 26 is a particularly well-made chisel, roughly square in section, and is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Of a similar type, but of less definite shape, are Nos. 27, which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, No. 28, which is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 29, which is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

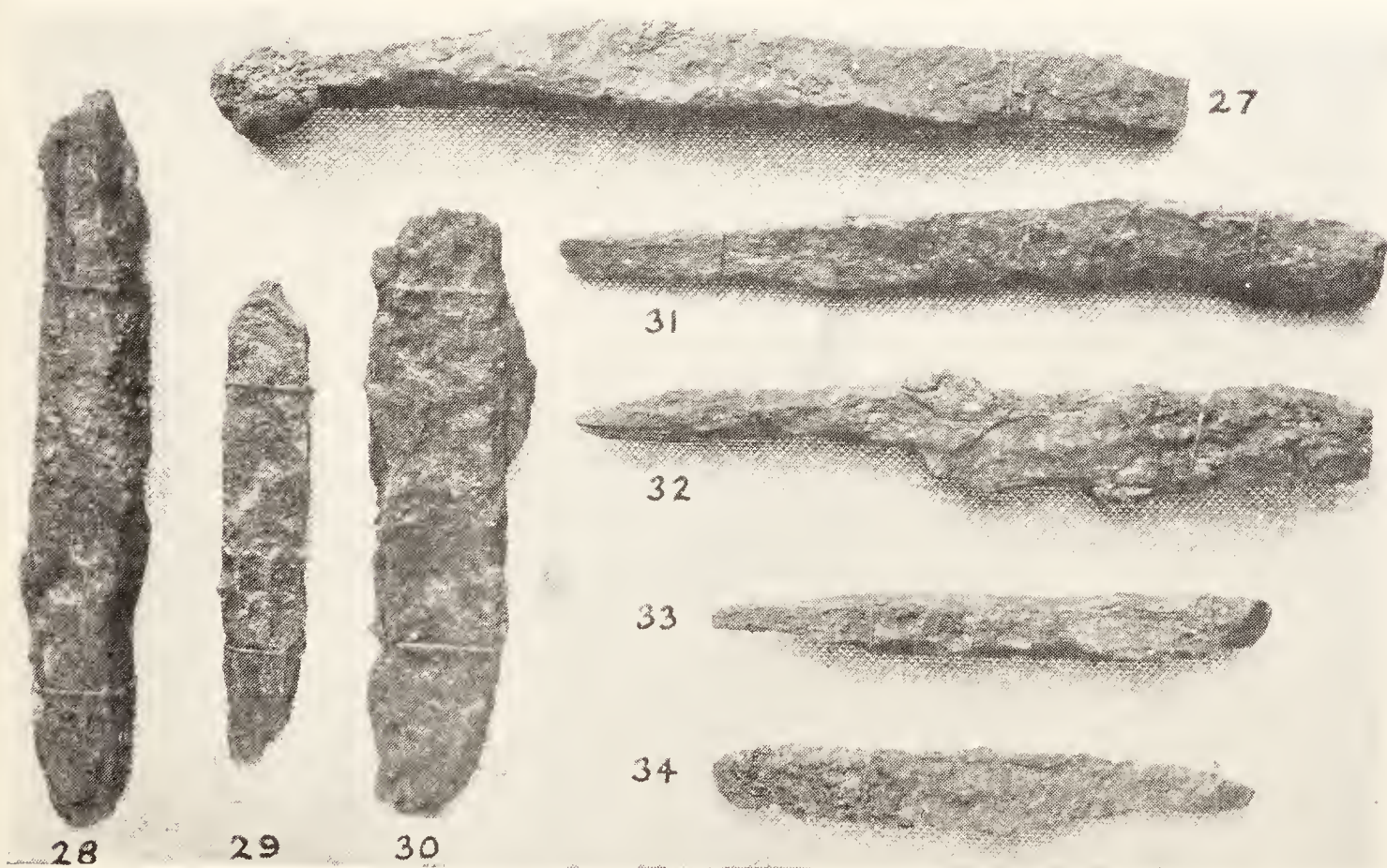
No. 30 seems to be part of a flat sword or similar implement, but is obviously only a fragment, measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by one inch.

There are four pieces, which distinctly seem to have been hammered, with a tang for a handle as though eventually to be made into small knives. No. 31 is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, No. 32 six inches (the handle being $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches), No. 33 four inches, and No. 34 four inches. Three straight pieces, of somewhat indefinite shape, measure respectively, No. 35, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, No. 36, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and No. 37, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

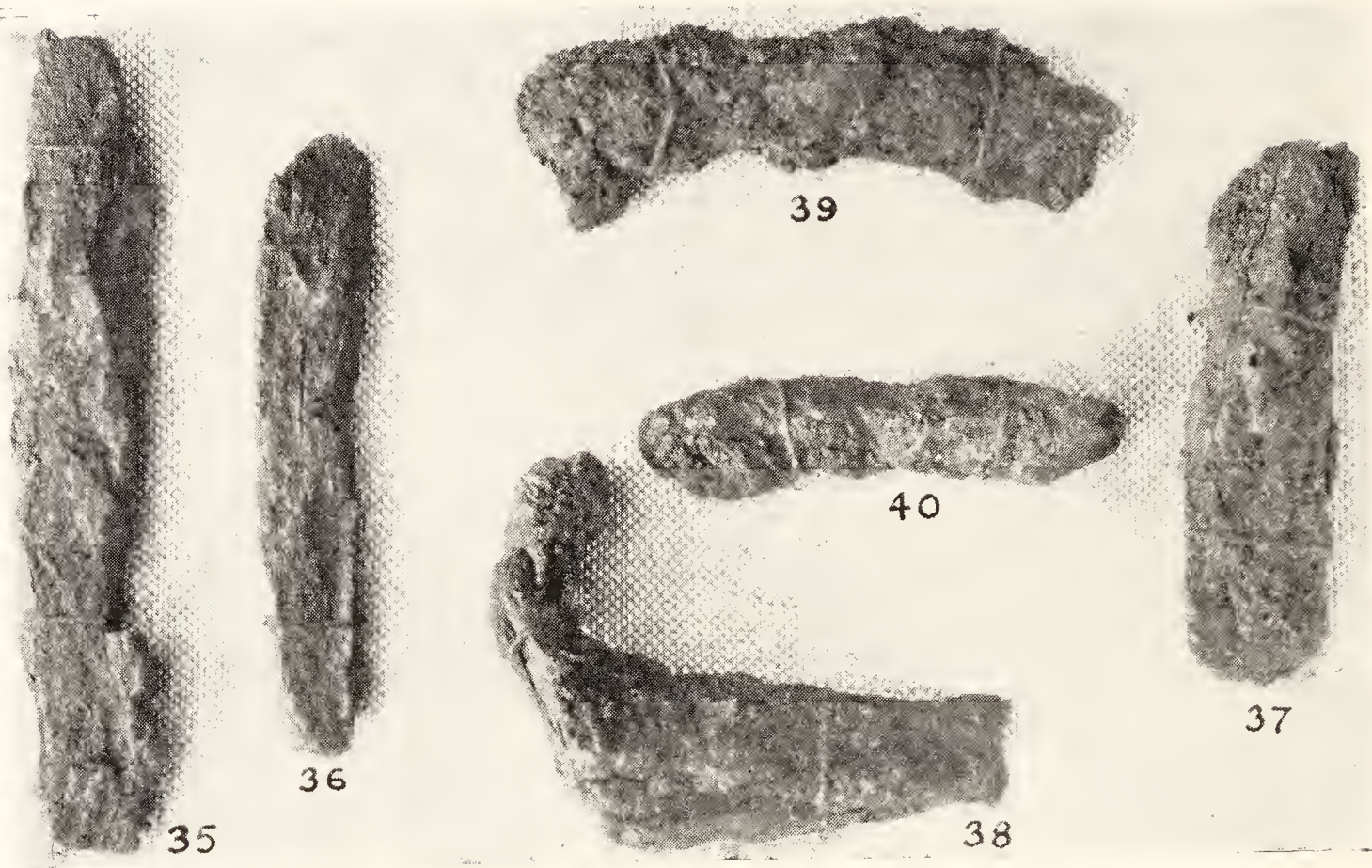
No. 38 seems distinctly to be part of a hook for hammering into a wall, there being a flat end similar to the pieces used for the ordinary clothes-line in modern times. Its total length is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



Nos. 20-26. Chisel-shaped pieces of iron and nail.



Nos. 27-34. Iron chisel, portions of sword, etc.



Nos. 35-40. Various iron objects.



Nos. 41-46. Ingots of iron.

No. 47. Portion of horse shoe.

Nos. 39 and 40 are similarly indefinite pieces, which being slightly curved may be portions of large iron hoops.

The remaining six pieces (Nos. 41 to 46) are more or less solid ingots of iron, evidently to be used at some time for making into implements or weapons. No. 41 is a particularly solid piece, the others being more or less scoriaceous.

The last object to be described (47) is clearly the portion of a horse shoe, and while the bridle-bit indicates that horses were used by the Vikings, there is no definite evidence that this particular piece is of Viking date; in fact it distinctly gives the impression that it is much more modern and as it was not found with the remainder of the hoard it probably has no connexion with it. This view is shared by Mr. Parker Brewis.

Through the kindness of Mr. E. M. Rutter, the forty iron specimens have been presented to the Mortimer Museum at Hull.

THE ORGANISATION OF DRAINAGE AND EMBANKMENT IN MEDIÆVAL HOLDERNESS.

By S. G. E. LYTHER, M.A. (School of Economics, Dundee).

In an earlier paper in this *Journal* I surveyed the activities of the Court of Sewers for the East Parts of the East Riding, which came into existence under the Tudor Statute of Sewers (1531). The purpose of the present study is to carry this survey back to the period when no such permanent organisation existed and when the problem of enforcing maintenance was even more acute. In view of the somewhat unfamiliar nature of mediæval drainage law and custom, it seemed best to begin with a brief sketch of this, before passing to the machinery for enforcing it and the disputes which arose over its application.

A. DRAINAGE LAW AND CUSTOM.

At the outset in any study of this nature it is essential to realise the particular significance of the Customs of Romney Marsh, which, according to Dugdale, became "the paterne and exemplar to all the like places in the whole realme." By its location and intimate contact with the Cinque ports Romney Marsh was able to thrust its problems and grievances under the very nose of the authorities at Westminster, and in 1251 a writ was issued to the sheriff of Kent ordering him to abandon ordinary legal processes as "the action of the sea was too swift for the common law." Five years later Henry de Bathonia was sent to the Marsh, and in 1257 he drew up a series of ordinances embodying the existing custom and organisation. It appears that in Romney Marsh there existed a standing jury of twenty-four local inhabitants, known as the "Jurats of the Marsh." The existence of the jury dated from time immemorial, and it was retained in the ordinances of 1257 to assign repairs on the basis of a measurement made by twelve sworn men elected by the commonality. The executive officer, the bailiff, had power to levy a double payment in cases of negligence. The origin of these customs is unknown. Possibly they grew out of some village or manorial arrangements.

Normally we should expect like causes to produce like effects. The elements at work in Holderness varied only in degree from

those at work in Romney Marsh, but there is little clear proof of the existence of a distinct code of Holderness customs. In 1397, for example, Sir Stephen de Scrope, Robert de Garton and others, were appointed to remedy drainage defects throughout Holderness "according to the law and custom of the realm and the custom of Romney Marsh." Nine years later the terms of the commission to Sir Peter de Bucton, Robert Tirwhit and others were quite different. They were to view and repair banks etc. in Holderness "according to the law and custom of the realm and the custom of the East Riding before that time." So in less than a decade we find evidence for conflicting views; in 1397 the stereotyped customs of Romney Marsh are specified, in 1406 reference is made to definitely local customs. This reference in 1406 was the exception rather than the rule, and on the whole we may conclude that local custom was unimportant. In all the petitions respecting the destruction of Frishmarsh there is not a single appeal to local custom, and when, in 1521, it was feared that Paull was suffering a similar fate, repairs were to be executed, not by some customary jury, but by "such wise men as there be in those parts and as have experience of these matters."

In 1427 the first Statute of Sewers came into force. This act defined the scope of the *ad hoc* commissions. It empowered them to summon juries, assess liability, and make ordinances according to the custom of Romney Marsh. On the strength of this last clause Dugdale supposed that the purpose of the act was to extend the Romney Marsh customs over the whole country. Here again the terms of the commissions issued for Holderness after 1427 are not entirely conclusive. Some, like that of 11 Henry VI, specify the customs, others do not. On the whole it seems that the real purpose of this act was to give legal sanction to the actions of *ad hoc* commissions appointed by the Lord Chancellor, and though it certainly gave official recognition to the use of Romney Marsh as a pattern, it embodied no new principle and simply gave *de jure* status to something which was already *de facto*.

We may conclude, then, that each commission in Holderness would act in accordance with experience gained elsewhere and without reference to any clearly defined local custom or local organisation. Local information was obtained from a jury summoned for the purpose, and it is possible that the jury or some of its members were held responsible until the work of that particular commission was accomplished. The basis of liability was generally in respect of tenure, though in several cases there were other customary

arrangements. Communal liability, either of the township or the manor, was common, and the sub-division of such liability was no doubt a matter for the local manorial court. So in the time of Edward III the manorial court at Brandesburton assessed liability for certain dykes within the manor, and in 1657 the Patrington Court Books record that "The Jurie doth present Robert Hildyard Esquire for a sewer undressed (*i.e.* unscoured) from the Church Style to John Layke's house." Even in the nineteenth century manorial courts still supervised certain dykes within their jurisdictions. In 1805 the Bridlington Court compelled John Matson to cut a new dyke, 84 yards long, to replace one he had blocked up, and at the last meeting of the Court Leet of Sutton in 1847 the parson of Sutton was fined 10/- for failing to cleanse his ditch.

B. THE MEDIÆVAL COMMISSIONS.

In 1285 Edward I was informed of floods in the lowlands of Holderness, and issued a commission "de walliis, fossatis etc." to Thos. de Normanvill, his steward in Holderness, ordering him to view and rectify the damage. Such is the first recorded instance of official intervention into the drainage organisation of Holderness, and from then until the present day scarcely a decade has elapsed when there was no orderly supervision. The frequency of these early commissions indicates the personal interest taken by the fourteenth-century kings in their Holderness estates, for mediæval Burstwick was almost as popular with Edward II as Sandringham has been with modern rulers. These commissions created no standing authority; their function was simply to meet a sudden emergency and to attach liability for defective works. So when the wrongs were righted and the waters abated, the work of the commissioners automatically ceased; and unless there was some customary local organisation, nothing further was done until another flood produced another commission. Before 1427 the issue of commissions depended on no statutory authority, but was purely a part of the royal prerogative. Similarly the Courts Palatine issued commissions in their own jurisdictions, from Lancaster, from Ely, and on one occasion from Durham.

The earliest Holderness commissions scarcely ever contained more than two names, of whom the king's bailiff was generally one. A succession of bailiffs, therefore, appears on a succession of commissions—Thos. de Normanvill in 1285 and 1288, Thos. de Weston in 1295, Richard Oysel in 1301, and Edward de Mauley

in 1312. As time went on, reputable local inhabitants such as John de Sutton and Herbert de St. Quintin were nominated, often accompanied by professional justices. The commission of 1338 included John de Molyns, a knight of the king's chamber, and Robert Parnyng, who was the king's sergeant. Nearly a century later the numbers appointed were greater, but the name of Robert Tirwhit appeared regularly on drainage commissions for the Humber region. Quite apart from his work in this connection, he was between 1416 and 1422 appointed on thirteen commissions of the peace for parts of Yorkshire and nine for Lincolnshire. Men of his type were nearly always associated with local knights—the Hiltons, the Ellerkers and the Constables—so that skill in law and administration was blended with knowledge of local conditions, and the amateur's diffidence was overcome by that infallible authority which hedges the professional lawyer. Occasionally a cleric was nominated. In 1359 and 1360 John de Botheby, rector of Bainton, appeared; in 1365 he was nominated again along with the provost of Beverley and three laymen; in 1507 the Archdeacon of the East Riding was nominated, and in 1503 and 1509 the Abbot of Meaux.

The terms of the commissions varied, both as to subject and area. In most cases the commissioners were directed to look to the banks and dykes ("walliis et fossatis") throughout the whole of Holderness. Such may be regarded as general commissions issued after a very wet winter, or perhaps without any special pretext. Some were for specific purposes, as in 1311, when the commissioners' attention was directed to the Humber banks from Hedon to Paull, and in 1312 to the banks from Easington to Hedon. In 1316 they were to view and rectify the banks in Myton, forcibly broken in the night time by Gerard de Useflet and others. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century several commissions were issued in an attempt to rescue Tharlesthorpe and the neighbouring villages from the "rage and fury" of the Humber, and the Close Rolls for the same period echo the pleadings of Frishmarsh for re-assessment. The commission of 1365, issued for the repair of the "hithes" of the Humber between "La Stelle" in Southcoates and Hull, contains some interesting details. The commissioners were to distrain those responsible, sparing neither rich nor poor, and to appoint collectors, whose accounts should subsequently be audited. Everywhere there are hints of a general tightening-up of government supervision. In 1376 Roger de Fulthorp was ordered to inspect "in person" the sewers between

“ Cameryington Weele ” and Hedon and Pauleflete, and report on the same. Occasionally a commission might be issued for the inspection of some new piece of drainage or embankment. In 1357 commissioners were sent to investigate a complaint by Nicholas Gower that the Abbey of St. Mary, York, had raised an embankment near Hornsea Mere which extended onto the king’s land there. A generation later five commissioners were instructed to view a new dyke, which, it was alleged, impeded the course of other waterways in Roos and Burton Pidsey, so that the lands of the queen in Burton Pidsey were flooded.

It is evident from this brief survey that some commissions were in response to special circumstances which might never arise again; but taking a long view it seems that the frequency of commissions should be an index either of conditions in Holderness or of the strength and activity of the central government. The complexity of the problem may best be illustrated from the middle years of the fourteenth century.

Issue of Commissions of Sewers in the mid-fourteenth century—

<i>Decade.</i>		<i>Total for all England.</i>		<i>Holderness.</i>
1327–36	..	73	..	4
1337–46	..	57	..	3
1347–56	..	78	..	5
1357–66	..	79	..	7

The figures for Holderness are roughly proportionate to those for the rest of the country, except for the decade 1357–66, when the number to Holderness was slightly high. The generally accepted explanation of this greater attention to Holderness in the late 50s and 60s of the fourteenth century is that advanced by Sir William Dugdale in his *History of Imbanking and Drayning* of 1662. In 1356 the king was informed that the tides in the Humber flowed four feet higher than was their wont, flooding the highways—especially that from Hull to Anlaby. Dugdale comments on this, “ How long the tides, upon this coast, kept their course so much higher than they had formerly done, I am not able to say; but it is like that they did so for no short time after, there being scarce a year in the succeeding part of the king’s reign that one or more commissions were not issued out for repair of the banks in some place or other upon this great river.”

May we assume that this sudden change in the régime of the Humber tides was a purely local phenomenon, or should we regard

it as a single manifestation of much wider happenings? There is evidence of definite subsidence of the land in the Thames Valley within historical times, but the main subsidence was immediately post-Roman,¹ and we have no parallel evidence in the Humber. On the other hand there is ample evidence of storms of quite unusual magnitude in the North Sea. "The period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century was exceptionally stormy in the North Sea, and a series of great tidal floods struck like the blows of a battering-ram against the sea-defences of Holland Man had not only to contend with tidal floods; in addition, records of very wet years are unusually frequent and droughts were unusually rare, so that the rainfall of the whole period must have been exceptionally heavy. Moreover the annalists often refer to the severity of the winters, pointing like the high tides to frequent northerly winds. The whole conjunction of circumstances very strongly suggests that for some reason deep barometric depressions made a habit of settling down over the southern part of the North Sea."² It is not impossible that these inclement conditions came to a climax in the middle of the fourteenth century when the fury of the seas was directed towards the Humber estuary.

On the other hand the higher tides may have been a purely local phenomenon, caused by changes of some sort within the estuary. According to Shelford, the explanation is that about the middle of the fourteenth century Spurn rejoined the mainland from which it had for some time been severed. This narrowing of the channel produced a greater tidal range and increased the velocity of the currents, resulting in the destruction of Ravenser-Odd.³

The fact that this increase in government supervision was common all over the country suggests that we must look for wider causes. In his *Public Works in Mediæval Law*, C. T. Flower draws attention to the coincidence between this increase and the social upheaval caused after 1349 by the Black Death.⁴ In Holderness the Black Death must have caused chaotic dislocation. According to the Meaux Chronicle the plague was heralded by an earthquake—a hint that there may have been some tectonic

¹ H. C. Darby (ed.), *Historical Geography of England* (1936), pp. 61 and 94.

² C. E. P. Brooks and J. Glasspoole, *British Floods and Droughts* (1928), pp. 95–7.

³ *Proc. Instit. Civil Engineers*, 1868–9, xxviii, 485.

⁴ See also H. G. Richardson, "The Early History of the Commissioners of Sewers"—*English Hist. Review*, 1919.

movement. On the Friday before Passion Sunday (1349) the monks were chanting "deposuit potentes" ("He hath put down the mighty") when suddenly the building shook and the monks were flung violently from their stalls. In August of the same year, the abbot, twenty-two monks and six lay brethren perished. Of the entire body only one-fifth survived. The chronicler says that there were scarcely enough people left alive to bury the dead. Conditions cannot have been quite so bad in the open rural districts, where fresh air and a less crowded life must have minimized the virulence of the epidemic, though the large number of inductions in 1349-50 indicates that the rural clergy suffered heavily. On the estates of Crowland Abbey, where conditions were not very different from Holderness and where the mortality was high, holdings rendered vacant were quickly taken up, and this reserve of potential tenants seems to have mitigated the social and economic aftermath of the mortality.¹ Yet even allowing for this reserve of manpower, it is impossible to believe that there was no labour shortage, and that the authorities did not experience difficulty in fixing liability on new tenants. Furthermore, it is clear that the Black Death was followed by social unrest. There were revolts amongst the Abbot's "nativi" at Wawne about 1360. Revolts of this sort were endemic rather than epidemic in character, like causes producing like effects in different localities.

So we are left with a variety of factors, all of which may contain a grain of truth. Clearly there were floods of exceptional magnitude, caused by heavy rains, by tidal waves, or even by temporary eustatic movements. In a normal time the local proprietors might have mitigated the ill-effects by strengthening their banks and scouring their dykes. This they were unable to do because of the special social and economic problems of the day. The abbey of Meaux, hitherto something of a pioneer in such work, was impoverished by heavy mortality, by taxation, by lawsuits and by losses of land on the Humber coast. Finally we must bear in mind the possibility of a general tightening-up of national administration, a desire by the king to maintain the productivity of the land and a very hazy conception of the dangers of undrained marshland.

The success of any commission depended upon the ability of the commissioners and the veracity of the jury. The function of the jury was to supply local evidence, just as witnesses may

¹ F. M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey* (1935).

be called to give information at a modern enquiry. In the case of banks and sewers and bridges, the evidence was generally concerned with questions of liability or of dimensions, the two really contentious matters. Where the alleged defaulter denied his guilt a traverse jury had to be summoned and the case was frequently transferred elsewhere. Thus several of the disputes quoted in the next section were instituted before a Commission of Sewers, but subsequently determined in King's Bench. The matters presentable before Commissions of Sewers were not strictly limited to works of drainage and embankment. Defects in highways and bridges were frequently brought up in the ordinary courts of justice, but in so far as they were associated with drainage works or rivers they came within the competence of Commissioners of Sewers. Somewhere between the road and the bridge came the "causey" or "causeway," an artificially constructed highway over wet ground. In the time of Henry IV the burgesses of Beverley were indicted before Sir Peter de Bracton and others concerning Hull Bridge and the causey approaching it. In his *Beverlac* Poulson comments that this road continued to be subject to flooding right down to the cutting of the Beverley and Barmston Drain about 1800.

A lengthy return made by one of these commissions is printed *verbatim* in Poulson's *Holderness*.¹ To anyone other than a ravenous local historian it is monotonous reading. It was the outcome of an inquisition held at Skipsea by five commissioners appointed in 1367. The names of the twelve jurymen, including two knights and a member of the Hildyard family, indicate that the Sheriff summoned men of repute and high standing. One or two brief extracts will suffice to illustrate the nature of the jury's presentments:

"A certain sewer in the field of Esk, called Oxmerdike, ought to be made by the village of Esk, and is insufficient."

"Also a certain sewer in Cockerldume in the field of North Colden, even to Hornsey Marre, is insufficient in Damker, in the field of Mapilton, and ought to be made by the Lord of Mapilton, and in Drusethorpe Garths, and ought to be made by the tenant, Robert Glocester."

"Also there is another called Commerffleit, which extends from the field of Winestead even to Potterfleith Haven, and ought to be 12 ft. broad, in part by the Lord of Winestead, Stephen

¹ Poulson, *History and Antiquities of the Seigniorie of Holderness* (1840), i, 119-132.

Parcie, John Rolston, Wm. Peters, John Constable, Robt. Smith, Richard Andrew, Eustachiu de Boothbie, every one according to their lands abutting."

" And from the turning of Burton Foss, Danthorp hath a Foss even to the demises of Estranwick and from the demises of Estranwick even to Sandwath, by the bridge of Burton, which said bridge is defective, and also the said sewer is very insufficient, and mostly near Burton Croft where the willows growing beyond measure hinder the course of the water"

Willow trees, it appears, could be more harmful than helpful. Normally they were encouraged along the banks of rivers and dykes as their roots helped to bind together and reinforce the loose earth, and on the Continent ferocious punishments were inflicted on people guilty of damaging the trees.¹

A second return, smaller and more limited, is that which was made by a commission sitting at Hallytreeholme about 1434.² The jury on this occasion was concerned almost entirely with the numerous defaults of the Abbot of Meaux. He had failed to maintain a bridge in Routh, a dyke from this bridge to Bryndecarre, a dyke in Meaux, Weel and Tickton called " Meenpitt," a dyke at Milnholmsand in Benningholme called " Munckdyke," a dyke in Meaux and Wawne called " Southdyke," and so on. One feature of this return is that whilst eight men were nominated on the commission of 11 Hen. VI, only four appear to have sat at Hallytreeholme. There is reference in the commission to recent flooding, and as the commissioners were empowered to impress labourers, it seems that a situation of special emergency had arisen. In this case the commissioners probably divided, four tackling one area, and four another, as had previously been done in 1342. It is very unlikely that four out of eight would be exempted, though the issue of a writ of " supersedeas omnino," discharging a commissioner from responsibility, was not unknown, sometimes because the commission had never been delivered to the designate, sometimes because the commissioner had been appointed to other work. In the event of death it was necessary for the son or widow to sue out a writ of this sort. For example, in 1398, a writ of " supersedeas " was issued to Joan, wife and executrix of William de Holme, and to John, his son and heir.

There are few indications that either the commissioners or the jurymen neglected their duties. Many of them were amateur

¹ G. C. Coulton, *The Mediæval Village* (1931), Appendix 33, p. 528.

² MS. copy in County Hall, Beverley.

administrators, but it is in the arms of such that English local government has grown to maturity. The professional administrator often held his office on a precarious tenure, yielding flattery and favouritism for rent, but the amateur could afford to be honest, and were he so minded he could proceed "without fear, favour or affection, or any hope of reward."

C. MEDIÆVAL DRAINAGE DISPUTES.

Those periods when life was running smoothly have left little record in comparison to those of unrest and dissatisfaction. In the same way the peaceful, competent men are those who have no memorial, whilst the evil report of the slothful and litigious fills the court books of all ages. In the history of land drainage an era of silence is generally one of efficiency, and, *vice versa*, an era of noisy dispute is one of inefficiency. We have already considered the special social and climatic factors in Holderness in the late fourteenth century, and concluded that these led to some dislocation of the drainage. This dislocation is reflected in the records of litigation. The chief culprit was William de Scarborough, abbot of Meaux from 1372 to 1396. The remarkable feature of this man's career is that, in spite of the special difficulties of the time, he left the temporalities of the abbey in a healthier state than that in which he found them. In 1369 the abbey had only 1,471 sheep. By the end of William de Scarborough's abbacy it had 2,361.

The cases involving William de Scarborough and his contemporaries raise matters of liability and responsibility, revealing the irregularity and incoherence of drainage organisation at that time. Normally we should expect the Crown to assume responsibility for enforcing maintenance of works affecting several proprietors, but in the fourteenth century this principle was not clear. Thus in 1368 the Abbot of Meaux (William de Dringhoe) prosecuted the Abbot of Thornton (Lincs.), in 1374 the Crown prosecuted the Abbot of Meaux, and in 1377 Peter Hildyard also prosecuted the Abbot of Meaux—all these actions relating to main dykes in the Meaux district. In general, it seems that when the suit arose out of presentment before a Commission of Sewers the Crown automatically assumed the role of prosecutor, but otherwise the individual complainant carried the case through, usually alleging some damage to his own particular lands or tenements.

The defences advanced varied according to circumstances.

One most fruitful source of litigation was the dimensions of dykes. Thus in 1377 Peter Hildyard alleged that Monkdyke, between Arnold and Riston, ought to be 16 feet wide and 5 feet deep. To this the Abbot of Meaux replied that it should be only 5 feet wide and 3 feet deep. Three centuries later the Court of Sewers would simply have referred to their "Books of Pains," where matters of this sort were recorded; but before the sixteenth century there seem to have been no recorded official surveys of dykes, and the justices were thrown back on the opinion of more or less trustworthy local witnesses. Similarly, information about liability was extracted from the memories of oldest inhabitants. A popular plea was that of divided responsibility, which the Abbot of Meaux advanced in 1374 when he said that Monkdyke and Routhdyke drained the lands of Peter Hildyard, Amandus Soudenvale, the Abbot of Thornton and numerous townships, all of whom had formerly shared the maintenance with him. In a dispute sometime about 1393 concerning Skirthdyke, which ran from Burstwick Hall Bridge to Hedon and thence to the Humber, it was alleged that the townships of Burstwick and Skeckling, together with the Queen of England and the chantry priest of Preston, were responsible for the north bank, whilst the townships of Ryhill, Camerton and Thorney, the said chantry priest, and six private proprietors, were responsible for the south bank. In this, as in numerous other instances, it is evident that liability was thrown on proprietors whose frontage abutted on the dyke, and who would be the first to gain or lose by its condition.

The following summary will indicate some typical lawsuits of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They give the impression that the Holderness where "the banished Bolingbroke" landed in 1399 was a region where drainage had been neglected and where agriculture was depressed. Nature had done her worst, and that at a time when the antique structure of manorialism with all its customary arrangements was being shaken to its very foundations.

1. Abbot of Meaux *v.* Abbot of Thornton (1368).

In this case the Abbot of Meaux asserted that owing to the neglect by the Abbot of Thornton of a dyke called "Mundyke," from "Wodhus" to "Rowton," certain lands belonging to the Abbey of Meaux had been inundated, the damage being valued at £20.

2. Rex *v.* Abbot of Meaux (1374).

Arising out of a presentment made before Thos. de Ingleby and others, Commissioners of Sewers, it was alleged that the

Abbot had failed to scour Monkdyke; and also that he, the Abbot of Thornton and the township of Easington, had failed to scour Holdyke, from Wytholme to Couland.

In the Trinity Sittings, 1374, the Abbot of Meaux was represented by his attorney, Stephen del Fall, who pleaded divided liability (see above, page 292). Thomas de Shardelowe, the suitor for the Crown, denied this, and a jury was summoned to determine the case.

3. Peter Hildyard *v.* Abbot of Meaux (1377).

Peter alleged that, as a result of the abbot's neglect, Monkdyke was much too small, and that 20 acres of his meadow and 100 acres of his pasture were flooded thereby, the damage amounting to £40. He further stated that he saw the Abbot at Meaux on June 28th, 1372, and asked him to have the dyke cleared and deepened.

The Abbot denied that the dyke was too small, and said that Peter's men had blocked it up so that they might cross it on their way from Peter's Manor of "Benyngholm" to Beverley Market. In this case the Abbot was represented by Thos. de Ellerbeck.

A jury was summoned, but failed to appear.

Another was summoned, but the case had to be adjourned on account of the death of Edward III.

4. Abbot of Meaux *v.* Peter Hildyard (1378).

In this case, which further illustrates the quarrels between William de Scarborough and his contemporaries, and in which he was possibly seeking revenge for the previous drainage dispute, William accused Peter of stealing fish, to the value of £20, from the abbey's fisheries in Benningholme, Routh, and elsewhere.

5. The Skirthdyke (near Hedon) (1393-1401).

In the disputes relating to Skirthdyke, which ran from Burstwick Hall Bridge to Hedon, it was alleged that the dyke was blocked up and dry, though formerly boats from the high seas had been able to navigate it. Anne, Queen of England (presumably first wife of Richard II), the chantry priest of Preston, various townships and various individuals, were held responsible. This dispute came up before King's Bench in 1401.

6. Abbot of Meaux *v.* John Dam of Hull, chapman, and John Peck of "Northskirlewe," husbandman (1423).

In this dispute the Abbot alleged that the defendants had filled up a dyke at Rowton and Wawne with wood, planks, dung,

etc., whereby 100 acres of the land of the Abbey of Meaux was inundated.

7. Provost of Beverley *v.* Abbot of Meaux (1436).

The Provost claimed that by reason of tenure in Routh, Weel, Tickton, and elsewhere, the Abbot should maintain certain dykes as his predecessors had done. His neglect of these had occasioned the flooding of 200 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture and 400 acres of turbary belonging to the Provost at Leven. In compensation he claimed £200 damages.

8. Rex *v.* Abbot of St. Mary, York (1439).

This case is quoted as a further illustration of the jurisdiction over bridges exercised by the Commissioners of Sewers. It was stated that the Abbey of St. Mary should maintain a bridge, six feet wide, over a dyke leading from Hornsea Mere to the sea. A jury, summoned by the sheriff, stated that there was no bridge of such dimensions, but merely a foot-bridge, twelve inches wide, maintained by the township of Hornsea.

9. The Sturch (1338).

The dispute relating to this dyke reflects activity rather than neglect, and it is significant that it occurred a generation earlier than any of the previous instances. The course of this dyke has been obliterated by subsequent changes, but it probably ran from Ryhill towards Hedon and emptied into Hedon Haven. It appears that certain of the King's tenants at Burstwick complained to the King that the Sturch had been diverted from its ancient course. The King therefore empowered Simon de Grimsby, his steward in Holderness, to make amends. Simon, assisted by armed men, proceeded to cut dykes and trenches on the land of Margerie, widow of Robert de Botheby, Lady of Ryhill, as a result of which the countryside was flooded and the Sturch ceased to be navigable "whereby the burgesses of Hedon had formerly profited." The King's attention was again directed to the matter, and he appointed four commissioners to view and give redress to all concerned.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

To avoid a multitude of footnotes it was thought advisable to reserve this matter mainly for reference in a separate note. The basic work is Dugdale's *History of Imbanking and Drayning*, which, however, can be supplemented and checked from the

Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls—especially the former. A further work of fundamental importance is C. T. Flower's *Public Works in Mediæval Law*, along with which may be listed an article on "The Early History of the Commissioners of Sewers" in *The English Hist. Review* for 1919. There is still much unpublished material, though the volume of this has been substantially reduced by the Record Series of the Yorkshire Archæological Society. Poulson's *History and Antiquities of the Seignior of Holderness* is of no great assistance if Dugdale is available, but many references, especially to disputes, may be found in the three volumes of the Chronicle of Meaux.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE KILTON FEE.

By W. HEBDITCH.

The Kilton fee has proved a stumbling block to the historians of Cleveland. The accounts given by Graves,¹ Ord,² and Canon Atkinson³ are far from satisfactory, chiefly due to a lack of adequate evidence. The publication of the two volumes of the *Guisborough Chartulary* (1889 and 1891) by the Surtees Society made the task easier, and in 1913 Mr. W. I'Anson printed in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*⁴ the first full-length account of the fee and castle of Kilton. This corrected and supplemented the earlier accounts, but in its turn created new problems which invite a further enquiry.⁵ In 1915, two years after the appearance of Mr. I'Anson's article, Dr. William Farrer published his second volume of *Early Yorkshire Charters*. This contained documents illustrative of the Brus fee, with Dr. Farrer's illuminating comments and annotations. These and a great deal more material which has become accessible since 1913 have shed new light on the early history of this fee, and perhaps the time has now come when an attempt can be made to give a more definite account of its origin and early history.

Mr. I'Anson's account states: "Alan de Percy, second feudal baron, received considerable additions to the Percy estates in Cleveland, partly out of royal property, partly by grant from the Earl of Chester, but principally from lands which had belonged to the unfortunate Earl of Mortain. The augmentation of the Percy estates in Cleveland led Alan to found, apparently about 1106, what subsequently became known as the Fief of Kilton in the Barony of Percy." He continues, "This fief Alan granted in subinfeudation to a certain Walter, who if not actually a member of the Percy family, was probably closely allied to them."⁶

¹ *The History of Cleveland* (1808), pp. 370-372.

² *The History and Antiquities of Cleveland* (1846), pp. 268-271.

³ *History of Cleveland Ancient and Modern* (1874), i, 334-341.

⁴ *Y.A.J.*, xxii, 55-125.

⁵ The account of Kilton which appears in the *Victoria County History* (N.R., ii, 330-331) was completed in 1914, but not published until 1923. No attempt is made to account for the origin of the fee or to indicate its composition.

⁶ *Y.A.J.*, xxii, 57.

According to this account the fee "was divided into three portions, *viz.*: (1) The Fief of Kilton proper; (2) The Lordship of Hinderwell; (3) The Kirkleatham property." Under the first heading are included "the two manors of Kilton, the two manors of Torp or Kilton Thorpe, the manor of Little Moorsholm, and the soke of South Loftus."¹ "The Lordship of Hinderwell comprised the manors of Hinderwell, Seaton, and Roxby, and the sokes of Boulby, Arnodestorp, Roxby, Hinderwell, and Rescheltorp"²; while the Kirkleatham property is said to have consisted of about one third of that parish.³

We shall return to the account of the origin of the fee later. For the moment let us examine its composition, for this may give us some indication of its origin.

1. THE FIEF OF KILTON PROPER.

Kilton and Kilton Thorpe undoubtedly formed its basis. No further proof of this is needed than the fact that at a very early date we find a small feudal castle established at Kilton as the capital messuage of the fee.

Domesday Book tells us that in 1086 the King held land at both Kilton and Kilton Thorpe. In Kilton Thorpe there was a small manor of two and a half carucates, and at Kilton there was a manor containing three carucates of land and eight acres of meadow.⁴

The Count of Mortain also held land there. In Kilton Thorpe he had a small manor of one and a half carucates, and in Kilton one carucate.⁵

It is probable that as early as 1100 Robert de Brus I held as tenant in chief that part of Kilton and Kilton Thorpe which in 1086 had belonged to the Count of Mortain.⁶

These two and a half carucates were, however, considerably less than half the land in these two villis, and it seems very likely

¹ *Y.A.J.*, xxii, 58.

² *Ibid.*, 61.

³ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴ *V.C.H.*, *Yorks.*, ii, 200.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁶ For conspiring to depose William Rufus, the Count forfeited all his lands and was banished (1088), his two most important Yorkshire tenants, Nigel Fossard and Richard de Surdeval, becoming tenants in chief of those lands which they formerly held of him (*cf.* Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ii, 326). Of Richard de Surdeval's holding some passed to

Ralph Paynel before 1100, and some to Robert de Brus I. If, as is generally supposed, Paynel married Maud, one of Richard's daughters, it is possible that Brus married another, the Surdeval lands being divided between them. (See *ibid.*, vol. vi, ed. Clay, p. 4.)

Kilton and Kilton Thorpe were not held by Richard de Surdeval of the Count in 1086, but it seems likely that they were included in the Mortain lands which he acquired, and which through him passed to Robert de Brus (*Ibid.*, ii, 16 and 19, Table II).

that the remaining five and a half carucates of land and eight acres of meadow, which in 1086 belonged to the King, were also granted to Robert de Brus.¹ There were thus in all eight carucates of land and eight acres of meadow. These formed the nucleus of the Kilton fee.

We cannot be quite so sure that Little Moorsholm originally formed part of this fee. In Domesday this small manor of one carucate was held by Richard de Surdeval of the fee of the Count of Mortain.² It later came into the hands of Robert de Brus as part of that fee.³ Its history in the twelfth century, however, is not very clear; but it may possibly have been subinfeuded with the Kilton property, for when we next hear of it, in 1257, it is in the hands of Marmaduke de Thweng, the then lord of Kilton.⁴ Admittedly this evidence is late, but it does at least show that Little Moorsholm formed part of the Kilton fee before the Brus partition of 1272. To say more than this at present would be to enter the realms of supposition.⁵

When we come to examine Mr. I'Anson's account of what he has called "The Soke of South Loftus" we are faced with a number of problems. He writes: "A considerable portion of the lordship of Locthusum (Lofthouse) was granted, soon after the Survey, by the then owner, the Earl of Chester, to William de Percy, and the soke of South Lofthouse, which from the Percy feodary appears to have contained six carucates of land, was, at an early date, incorporated in the fief of Kilton."⁶

In Domesday two separate properties are recorded at Loftus—North Loftus and South Loftus. If Mr. Skaife's identification is correct, South Loftus had no soke and certainly did not belong to the Earl of Chester, but to the King.⁷ North Loftus, on the

¹ The greater part of the Brus fee was composed of lands granted by the King to Robert de Brus I. (For details of composition of Brus fee see *E.Y.C.*, ii, 16–19.)

² *V.C.H.*, *Yorks.*, ii, 220.

³ *E.Y.C.*, ii, 19.

⁴ *V.C.H.*, *North Riding*, ii, 409.

⁵ The manor of Great Moorsholm did not become part of the Kilton fee until 1272 (*Yorks. Inquisitions*, i, 148), and as the distinction between Great and Little Moorsholm is not always easy to follow, and as sometimes "Moorsholm" may refer to either, it would be risky to make an emphatic statement either way.

⁶ *Y.A.J.*, xxii, 59.

⁷ Skaife, *Domesday Book for Yorkshire*, p. 15; *V.C.H.*, *Yorks.*, ii, 199. The Domesday entries relating to Loftus present certain difficulties. The chief problem is one of identification. Dr. Farrer does not seem to have recognised the existence in 1086 of two separate properties at Loftus; or if he did, he does not appear to have decided which was North Loftus and which South Loftus. He describes both the royal holding and the Chester holding as "North and South Loftus." The two properties as described in Domesday are certainly almost identical in size and composition; but I think we must regard them as separate units, even in 1086.

other hand, had an extensive soke which included lands in Roscheltorp, Hinderwell, Boulby, Easington, Liverton, Guisborough, RouDECLIF (par. Skelton), Upleatham, Marske, Kirkleatham, Lazenby and Lackenby, and did form part of the Chester fee.¹

But, even assuming that the Chester property in North Loftus is what Mr. I'Anson meant, it is not clear what he included under the heading of "The Chester sokē of [North] South Loftus." Did he mean the central manor, which in 1086 contained four carucates of land, wood, and eight acres of meadow²; or did he mean the whole of this very extensive soke which in Domesday is assessed at forty-six and a half carucates?³

The vagueness of this account makes it desirable to re-examine the history of the post-Conquest manor of North Loftus, to see if there are any grounds for including it in the original Kilton fee.

One point is clear at the very outset: the Earl of Chester, far from subinfeuding his Loftus property to William de Percy, actually enfeoffed Robert de Brus of a great part of it⁴; and it is only logical to assume that it was the manor and part, if not all, of the soke of North Loftus, which the Earl held in 1086, which was granted.

An interesting document in the *Guisborough Chartulary*,⁵ dating from the thirteenth century, sheds some light on the early sub-tenants of Loftus. It tells us that Richard Bard was the first lord of this vill after the Conquest (*Ricardus Barde fuit primus Dominus villæ de Lofthus post Conquestum*), and goes on to say that he was succeeded by Geoffrey Bard, son and heir of Richard,

¹ *V.C.H., Yorks.*, ii, 218.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* Mr. I'Anson does not seem to have been very clear in his own mind on this point. He tells us that the *soke* of [North] South Loftus "was incorporated in the fief of Kilton" (*Y.A.J.*, xxii, 59), and then immediately goes on to say that "The Kilton fief proper therefore consisted in all of *six manors*" (*Ibid.*, 60). As he had previously stated that "The Fief of Kilton proper contained the two manors of Kilton, the two manors of Torp or Kilton Thorpe, the manor of Little Moorsholm, and the *soke* of South Lofthouse" (*ibid.*, 58), we are compelled to believe that he drew no distinction between the manor and soke of [North] South Loftus.

⁴ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 11 and 196*n*. Dr. Farrer points out that c. 1100-1104 the Earl of Chester enfeoffed Robert de Brus of certain parts of his Cleveland fee, including Loftus. At the end of the thirteenth century we find a relic of the original Chester Lordship in the payment of a fine from Loftus for ward at Chester (*Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 164). It is possible that the Percys had some interest in Loftus for in 1199 William de Sauchay, the under-tenant, paid 40*s.* that his suit against William de Percy concerning land in Loftus, Thorp and Wapley might be summoned to Westminster (*V.C.H., N.R.*, ii, 386*n*). This, however, need not imply overlordship.

⁵ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 171.

and that after Geoffrey a certain William Sauchay, *consanguineus et hæres* of the said Geoffrey, held these lands.

This would seem fairly convincing evidence that the lords of Kilton were not sub-tenants in Loftus, and that the central manor did not form part of the original Kilton fee. Equally convincing is the evidence contained in this document about the overlordship, for Peter de Brus I is there referred to as the *Dominus Capitalis* of Loftus.

The soke also presents certain difficulties. Out of all the places mentioned as being dependent on the central manor of North Loftus, Mr. I'Anson has selected only four—Kirkleatham, Roscheltorp, Hinderwell and Boulby—and strangely enough has not included one of them in "The Fief of Kilton proper." Kirkleatham he has included in the "Kirkleatham property" and the rest in the "Lordship of Hinderwell." Of the other parts of the Domesday soke—lands in Easington, Liverton, Guisborough, RouDECLIF, Upleatham, Marske, Lazenby and Lackenby—he makes no mention.¹

There thus seems to be no part of either the manor or soke of North Loftus which can be included in the Kilton fee.

2. THE LORDSHIP OF HINDERWELL.

To the lands in Roscheltorp, Hinderwell and Boulby which formed part of the soke of North Loftus, Mr. I'Anson added the manor of Hinderwell with its soke of Arnodestorp, the manor of Seaton with its soke in Roxby, and the manor of Roxby, to form what he termed "The Lordship of Hinderwell."²

Included in this "lordship" we thus have three main component parts—Hinderwell, Seaton and Roxby—all of which now form the parish of Hinderwell-cum-Roxby; and three miscellaneous portions—Arnodestorp, Roscheltorp and Boulby.

We can deal with these miscellaneous properties at once. All three present difficulties. Arnodestorp, or Arnold's Toft, was, according to Mr. Skaife's identification, near Linthorpe.³ It was a small holding of some ten bovates, and in Domesday was a soke of Hinderwell. Little or nothing is known of its later history, but we do not find it in any way connected with the Kilton property. Roscheltorp has not yet been successfully identified; it is therefore impossible to give any information about its early

¹ Perhaps it is hardly necessary to point out that these lands never formed part of the Kilton fee.

² *Y.A.J.*, xxii, 61.

³ *Domesday Book for Yorkshire*, p. 138. According to Dr. Farrer it may have been in Hinderwell (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 263).

history. But here again there is nothing to suggest that it ever formed part of the Kilton fee. Finally there is Boulby. It seems clear that it formed part of the Brus lordship, but a good deal of enquiry on the part of the present writer has not yet disclosed the identity of the early sub-tenants. Towards the end of the thirteenth century we find the Bushell family established there. There is certainly no mention of the de Kiltons.

Now let us turn to the lands in Hinderwell-cum-Roxby. In 1086 there were two properties in Hinderwell: there were the ten bovates which formed part of the soke of North Loftus and were held by Hugh, Earl of Chester,¹ and there was William de Percy's manor of four carucates six bovates of land, and thirteen acres of meadow, to which was attached the soke of Arnodestorp.²

The ten bovates which formed part of the soke of North Loftus seem to have been granted by the Earl of Chester to Robert de Brus. The Percys, on the other hand, appear to have retained the overlordship of the manor of Hinderwell in their own hands.³

The sub-tenants were the Wirfauks, who are found granting land in Hinderwell to Whitby Abbey as early as 1139-48.⁴ Mr. P'Anson seems to have assumed that Hinderwell was included in the original Kilton fee because later, but previous to 1272, he found the Thwengs holding land there. But actually this land and the advowson of Hinderwell church came to the Thwengs as a grant by the Wirfauks in the early part of the thirteenth century.⁵

Here again it seems most unlikely that these lands ever formed part of the original Kilton fee.

In 1086 the Count of Mortain was the overlord of the manor of Seaton, and Richard de Surdeval held it of him. To this manor was attached the soke of Roxby. At Seaton there were three carucates and at Roxby two.⁶ This property, like a large part of the Count of Mortain's fee in Cleveland, came to Robert de Brus, and by him appears to have been subinfeuded to the family of Seton.⁷ Throughout the twelfth century we find references to this family. The earliest, perhaps, is a grant by abbot Benedict and the Chapter of Whitby to Osbert de Seton of half a carucate in Hinderwell.⁸

¹ *V.C.H., Yorks.*, ii, 218.

² *Ibid.*, 263.

³ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 248, writes: "The greater part of Hinderwell was held of the Percy fee, but 10 bovates were held of Brus, as of the fee of Chester."

⁴ *Ibid.*, 247. Dr. Farrer suggests

that ultimately Wirfauks granted to Whitby the whole 10 bovates they held of the Brus fee (*ibid.*, 248).

⁵ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 248.

⁶ *V.C.H., Yorks.*, ii, 220.

⁷ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 247; see also 26. The date of this grant is c. 1139-48.

Finally we come to Roxby. That part of Roxby which formed the soke of Seaton almost certainly went with the Seaton property. The Count of Mortain, however, had a berewick in Roxby. In 1086 this was assessed at one carucate and was held by Nigel Fossard.¹ This carucate was given by Robert Fossard, Nigel's son, to Whitby Abbey,² and confirmed by Robert's son William.³ There was another small property in Roxby, a manor of one carucate which at the time of the Survey was held by the King.⁴ What was the fate of this small royal holding it is impossible to say; it is probable, however, that it was granted to Robert de Brus along with the Mortain lands in Seaton and Roxby, and by him to the Seton family.

After this examination there seems as little of the "Lordship of Hinderwell" which can be included in the fee as there was of the "Soke of South Loftus."

3. THE KIRKLEATHAM PROPERTY.

We are again on safer ground when we come to deal with this part of the fee. It is quite clear that the original Kilton fee included lands in Kirkleatham, for we have a charter, which Dr. Farrer has dated between 1170–1185, in which Ilger de Kilton, one of the earliest lords of the fee, is referred to as holding land in Kirkleatham.⁵ But it has not yet been made altogether clear which lands in Kirkleatham these were, nor of whom they were held.

In Domesday Book Kirkleatham, or *Westlidun* as it is called, was divided between four overlords, of whom one was the King. The details are as follows:

- (a) *Royal land*.—A manor containing three carucates of land and four acres of meadow.⁶
- (b) *Earl Hugh of Chester's Fee*.—Two carucates as soke of North Loftus.⁷
- (c) *The Count of Mortain's Fee*.—A manor containing nine carucates of land and fourteen acres of meadow.⁸
- (d) *William de Percy's Fee*.—A manor containing four carucates of land, a church, and six acres of meadow.⁹

Dr. Farrer says: "The greater part of Kilton and Kirkleatham was held by Ilger de Kilton of the fee of Brus, namely of that

¹ *V.C.H., Yorks.*, ii, 219–220. In connection with the extent of this berewick see Skaife, *Domesday Book for Yorkshire*, p. 52n.

² *Whitby Chartulary*, i, 7.

³ Farrer, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, 359–60.

⁴ *V.C.H., Yorks.*, ii, 199.

⁵ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 68.

⁶ *V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 200.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 218.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 263.

part of the fee of Brus which belonged at the Survey to the fee of Mortain."¹ This, as we have indicated, is quite true of the lands in Kilton and Kilton Thorpe. It is hardly so true of the Kirkleatham property.

When he founded Guisborough Priory in 1129, Robert de Brus granted to it "the whole of Kirkleatham, that is to say, nine carucates of land with that part of Coatham which is adjacent to it and all other things appurtenant, and the tithe of my demesne of Kirkleatham" (*totam Lyum, scil. novem carucatas terræ cum illa parte de Cotum quæ illi adjacet, et cæteris omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, et decimam domini mei de Lyum*).² These nine carucates are interesting, for surely they are nothing more nor less than that part of Kirkleatham which in 1086 belonged to the Count of Mortain, and which, as Dr. Farrer has suggested, like other parts of the Mortain fee, came into the hands of Robert de Brus.

If this is true, they cannot very well have formed part of the Kilton fee.³

We must therefore look elsewhere for an explanation of how the early holders of the Kilton fee came to be seised of land in Kirkleatham, for Dr. Farrer's statement hardly seems tenable in this light.

There are indications, however, which suggest that the Kilton fee was a composite fee, not held wholly of either Brus or Percy, but of both. The Kilton property was undoubtedly held of the Brus fee, but the Kirkleatham lands would appear to have been held of the Percy family.

The early de Kiltons held the church of Kirkleatham.⁴ This fact is significant, for it suggests, if it does not necessarily prove, which part of the vill of Kirkleatham actually went to form the Kilton fee. It will be remembered that in 1086 the church was included in William de Percy's holding. We are therefore justified in assuming that part, at least, of the Kilton fee in Kirkleatham consisted of the Percy holding of four carucates of land, six acres of meadow and the church.

We have thus accounted for part of Kirkleatham—for the Mortain holding of nine carucates of land and fourteen acres of meadow, which we have seen granted first to Robert de Brus and

¹ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 67.

² *Guisborough Chartulary*, i, 3.

³ Dr. Farrer seems to have been half aware of this, for in another place (*op. cit.*, ii, 69) he says: "Kilton was partly of the fee of Percy and partly of that of Brus"; and it is

possible that when he uses the word "Kilton" he refers to the fee and not the place.

⁴ Between 1195–1206 it was granted by William de Kilton, with his body, to the Canons of Guisborough (Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 68).

by him to Guisborough Priory, and for the Percy holding which we have suggested became part of the Kilton fee. But we are still left with the royal manor of three carucates of land and four acres of meadow, and Earl Hugh's two carucates. We cannot speak with such certainty about these. But it seems very probable that the royal lands were granted to Robert de Brus, and that they are represented by "that part of Coatham which adjoins Kirkleatham"; and equally likely that the Earl of Chester may have granted his portion of Kirkleatham to either William, or more probably Alan de Percy, and that this, combined with the original Percy holding, formed the Kirkleatham part of the Kilton fee.

The "Kirkleatham property" thus consisted in all of six carucates of land, six acres of meadow and the church—roughly half of the vill.

We are now in a position to go back and re-read, in the light of what we have ascertained, Mr. I'Anson's account of the composition of the fee. The first and most obvious correction to be made is the statement about the overlordship of Kilton. As we have indicated, the Kilton fee was a composite fee held of more than one overlord, and to describe it as "The Fief of Kilton in the Barony of Percy" is completely misleading. At Kilton and Kilton Thorpe the overlord was until 1272 a Brus. The only part of the fee which was held of the Percys, and not of the Brus lordship as Farrer suggests, was the Kirkleatham property.

The second point that emerges is that the original fee was much smaller than we have been led to imagine. Kilton and Kilton Thorpe, part of Kirkleatham, and perhaps Little Moorsholm—these are the only properties we have any valid authority for including in the Kilton fee.¹

Let us now go a little further and examine the evidence relating to the origin and early lords of this fee.

At the beginning of this article we quoted Mr. I'Anson's statement that *c.* 1106 Alan de Percy founded the Kilton fee. To establish a date even as approximate as this is neither wise nor possible at present. For we must remember that before we can think of a "fee of Kilton" we must presuppose the creation by

¹ Many of Mr. I'Anson's errors would seem to have arisen from his attempting to read back into the twelfth century a state of affairs which he saw existing in *Kirkby's Inquest* in 1284. Under any circumstances this would be dangerous, but

it is particularly so in the case of the Kilton fee, because many of the lands held by the Thwengs, the later lords of Kilton, at that date (1284) had only been incorporated in the fee some twelve years before as a result of the Brus partition of 1272.

a Brus of a sub-tenancy in Kilton and Kilton Thorpe, and the subinfeudation of lands in Kirkleatham by a Percy. To assume that these sub-tenancies were created at approximately the same time is to take historical liberties which conditions in the early twelfth century would scarcely justify.

Any attempt to fix a date at which the lands in Kilton and Kirkleatham were subinfeuded must involve a consideration of the original sub-tenants; and the creation of such a sub-tenancy could hardly have taken place much before 1100.

Mr. I'Anson says the fee was founded about 1106,¹ and that it "was granted by Alan, second feudal Baron de Percy, to a certain Walter, to be held by knight service." He continues, "Of Walter we know nothing whatever."² This Walter, he tells us, was succeeded by Pagan Fitz-Walter, and he by his "eldest son and heir" Walter Fitz-Pagan.³

According to this account Walter Fitz-Pagan was the eldest of a large family of five sons, Walter, Osbert, Galfridus, Adam and Richard, and two daughters, Helya and Matilda.⁴

For some time I was puzzled by these statements, particularly those referring to Walter, Pagan Fitz-Walter and Walter Fitz-Pagan. I was left in the position of having to accept the account in its entirety or reject it on the grounds that I was unable to find any evidence which would substantiate it.

And then it so happened that I came across a piece of information in the *Guisborough Chartulary* which gave a clue to the problem.

¹ *Y.A.J.*, xxii, 57.

² *Ibid.*, 63.

³ *Ibid.*, 65. About both these we are given a certain amount of what is undoubtedly meant to be corroborative evidence. Thus we are told that Pagan Fitz-Walter married a daughter of Robert Fossard, feudal Baron of Mulgrave, that he built a new church at Hinderwell and that he founded the castle of Kilton between 1135-1140 (*ibid.*, 63-64). No authority is given for any of these statements, and when we turn to Dr. Farrer's pedigree of the Fossards we find there is no mention of a Pagan Fitz-Walter (Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 327).

⁴ Mr. I'Anson gives as his authority the *Guisborough Chartulary* (vol. ii, nos. 865 and 866). It is only necessary to consult these two charters to see that such a reference is no valid authority. The first is a grant by Osbert de Kilton to Guisborough Priory of two bovates of land in

Kilton which Geoffrey son of Frethesand (*Galfridus filius Freyesand*) held, and a toft, buildings, etc., in the same vill which belonged to Ellis and Matilda the grantor's aunt (*Quod fuit Helyae et Matildis, amitae meae*). Osbert grants to his brother Adam three bovates minus three acres to warrant this grant. The second charter is a confirmation of this grant.

There is no mention in either of these deeds of Walter Fitz-Pagan, or any suggestion that he was the brother of either Adam or Osbert de Kilton. Galfridus son of Freyesand is presumably the same person as Mr. I'Anson's Galfridus, but there is nothing to indicate that he was a son of Pagan Fitz-Walter, or a brother of Adam and Osbert de Kilton. The other brother, Richard, is not even mentioned in either document; and *amita* could hardly mean sister, or apply to anyone but Matilda.

In 1251 an agreement was reached between John, the prior, and the convent of Guisborough, and Marmaduke de Thweng by which the prior and convent granted to Marmaduke in fee farm three bovates of land with the appurtenance in Kilton, two of which they had of the gift of Osbert de Kilton, and the third of the gift of Walter Fitz-Pagan (*ex dono Walteri filii Pagani*).¹

Those few words explain a great deal. They suggest the process by which the three generations of Walter, Pagan Fitz-Walter and Walter Fitz-Pagan came into existence. Taking as a starting point Walter Fitz-Pagan, a person connected with Kilton for whom we have some authority, Mr. I'Anson was able to extend his list of tenants back to 1106 by assuming that if the earliest person we know of is Walter son of Pagan, his father must have been Pagan son of Walter, and his father must have been Walter.

Having suggested that the three earliest sub-tenants of the Kilton fee are, to say the least, very doubtful, the question naturally arises, is it possible to put anyone in their places? I am afraid it is not, and we must as a consequence move forward the date at which we first find sub-tenants actually holding land in Kilton and Kirkleatham. We still have Walter Fitz-Pagan, it is true, but there is nothing whatever to indicate that he was ever lord of Kilton. It is quite possible that he was nothing more than a small freeholder on the manor of Kilton.

We are thus left with no other alternative than that suggested by Dr. Farrer. He writes: "The greater part of Kilton and Kirkleatham was held by Ilger de Kilton . . . there are few references to Ilger de Kilton, and none relating to his forbears."²

The last statement about Ilger's forbears may or may not be completely true, for in the *Carta Willelmi de Percy* in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*³ we find included in the list of knights of the old feoffment a certain *Ilgerus filius Roeri* holding one knight's fee. Canon Atkinson seems to have noticed this entry, for opposite Ilger's name, in the copy of the *carta* which he has printed in the *Whitby Chartulary*,⁴ he has put the word "Kilton." If he had written "Kirkleatham" he might have been nearer the mark; but he may, of course, have wished to indicate that the said *Ilgerus filius Roeri* was Ilger de Kilton.

If we are correct in assuming that these two people are identical⁵ we can say that by 1166, at the latest, the Kilton fee was

¹ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 149; see also *ibid.*, 112.

² Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 67.

³ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 425,

⁴ *Whitby Chartulary*, i, 31.

⁵ It seems very probable that the two Ilgers are identical, for we have other evidence that Ilger de Kilton was alive and granting land between

in existence. For though the entry in the *carta* may only show that Ilger held, at that date, the Percy portion of the fee (*i.e.* the Kirkleatham property), the fact that he has adopted the name of de Kilton in documents of only a slightly later date indicates that he held the Kilton property also. Indeed, if this identification is valid, it may be possible to place the date of the feoffment even earlier, for it is just possible that Roer', the father of Ilger, may have been the original sub-tenant. This, however, is pure speculation.

We are now in a position to state that the earliest sub-tenant about whom we have any authoritative evidence is Ilger de Kilton, and that he may very well be the person referred to in the *carta* of William de Percy in 1166. The descent and history of the later members of this family present few difficulties.¹

The name and family of Ilger de Kilton's wife are still unknown, but the names of seven of his sons have come down to us:

1. William, who is referred to as his son and heir in a grant by Ilger de Kilton to the Canons of Guisborough of two bovates in Kirkleatham.²
2. Osbert, grants two bovates and a toft in Kilton to Guisborough Priory and witnesses a grant of his brother William.³
3. Adam, who confirms his brother Osbert's grant.⁴
4. Ralph, a witness to his brother William's grant to Guisborough Priory of the church of Kirkleatham.⁵
5. Richard, who witnesses another grant by his brother William of the church of Kirkleatham.⁶

1170-85. What is more, in the *carta* Ilger son of Roer is said to hold one knight's fee, and we know that roughly about the same date Ilger de Kilton held a knight's fee, where ten carucates make the fee, and that part of that fee consisted of land in Kirkleatham, which we have suggested was held of the Percys (*vide* Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 68).

This evidence did not escape Dr. Farrer's notice (*vide* Farrer MSS., *Honors and Knights' Fees, Percy Fee*), but he seems to have been unable to find any conclusive evidence that the two Ilgers were one and the same person. Ilger son of Roer, with slight changes in the spelling of Ilger and Roer, appears in the Pipe Rolls from 16 to 24 Henry II. Thus in 1170

Alger son of Rerc owes ten marks for the right of one fee which William de Vescy holds of the Bishop of Durham. In 1171 he is referred to as Ylger son of Reri, and in 1177 as Ulger son of Reri. He does not seem to have obtained judgement until 1178 when he paid his ten marks and was quit (*Pipe Rolls*, 16-24 Henry II, Yorks., *passim*).

¹ As a result of describing certain of the de Kiltens as sons of Pagan Fitz-Walter, Mr. I'Anson's account is somewhat misleading.

² *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 108-109.

³ *Ibid.*, 147, 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶ *Ibid.*

6. Robert, who is referred to as the brother of William de Kilton in an agreement between Marmaduke de Thweng and the Prior of Guisborough, dated 1251.¹

7. Roger, is mentioned by Farrer, who says he granted land in Coatham to Byland.²

According to Dr. Farrer, Ilger only had six sons, but as he only mentions William and Roger by name, it is impossible to decide which of the above he would not have included and on what grounds.³

The evidence at present available suggests that Ilger was lord of the Kilton fee from c. 1166–1190: we cannot be more definite than this.

He was succeeded by his son William, who married a certain Alice. She is later found as the wife of Robert de Laceles.⁴ Between 1195–1206 William granted the church of Kirkleatham to Guisborough Priory—a grant which was to be a fruitful cause of trouble in his lifetime and later. He died sometime towards the end of John's reign.

We have already had cause to mention grants of land in Kilton and elsewhere by William's brothers. These seem to have misled Mr. I'Anson into imagining that it was as lords of Kilton that they made these grants. There are no real grounds for such an assumption, for actually William's successor appears to have been his niece, Matilda.⁵ Who was her father has not yet been satisfactorily decided: any one of the brothers we have mentioned is possible. Dr. Farrer has suggested Roger as the most likely, and presumably he had some reason for doing so.

On her uncle's death, which occurred before 1219, Matilda was a minor and her land was in the custody of Richard de Autrey (*Alta ripa*) by the gift of Richard de Percy.⁶ It seems to have been generally assumed that she was married to de Autrey, for in 1219 there was a plea between Robert de Laceles and Alice his wife, and Richard de Autrey and Matilda his wife concerning "a third part of five bovates and 12 acres in Kirkleatham, of which William de Kilton, formerly husband of the said Alice, was sometime seised."⁷ De Autrey denied that he was married to Matilda, but if the marriage had not already taken place, it did

¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

² Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 67.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 68–69.

⁵ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 99.

⁶ Presumably this only refers to the Kirkleatham property, which would, of course, revert to the Percys as overlords.

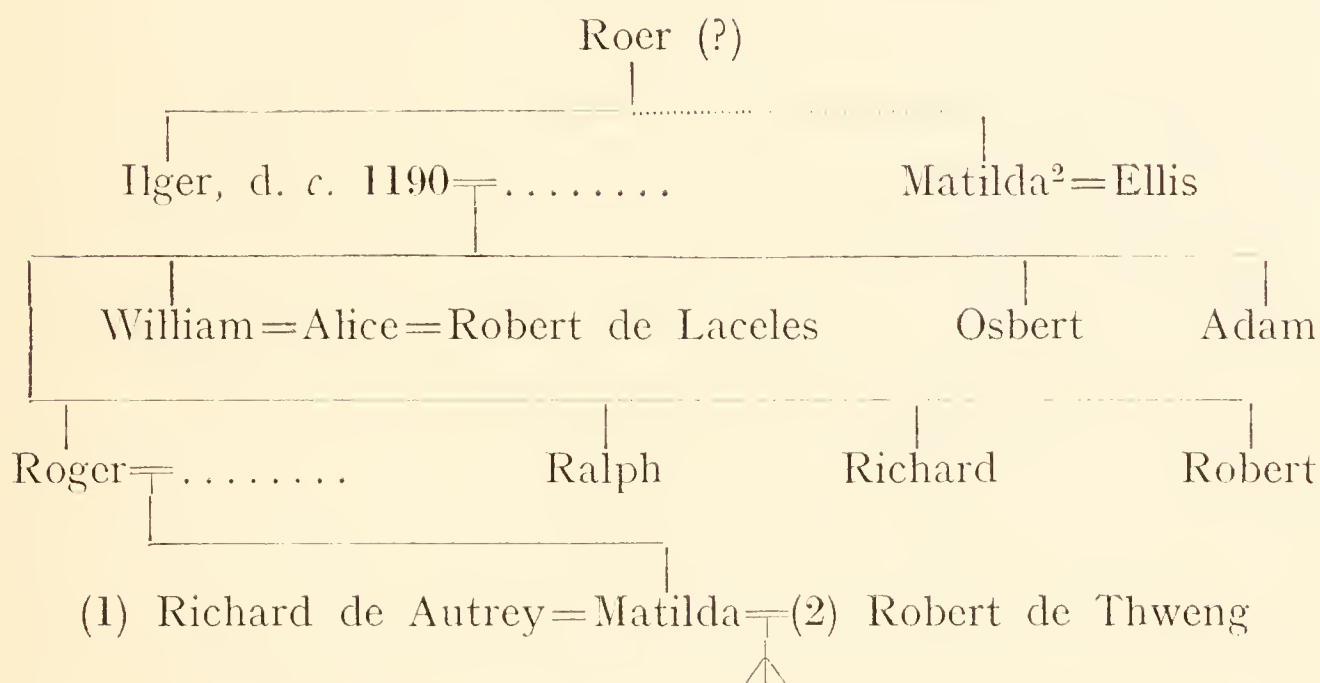
⁷ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 68–69.

so very shortly after, for in 1221 she and her husband raised the question of their right to the advowson of Kirkleatham.¹

Matilda outlived her husband, who was probably considerably her senior, and c. 1226 married Robert de Thweng. He was thus the first of this family, which is so intimately connected with Kilton, to hold the fee.

There is nothing to be gained by pursuing this enquiry any further, for with the marriage of Robert and Matilda our interest in the de Kiltons ceases, and we enter upon a period in which we have fuller and clearer records of a more important family, the de Thwengs.

SUGGESTED PEDIGREE OF THE DE KILTONS.



¹ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 99.

² In a grant which Osbert de Kilton made to Guisborough he refers to a tolt which belonged to Matilda his aunt (*quod fuit . . . Matildis, amitae meae*). As Osbert's father was Ilger and *amita* means an aunt on the father's side, presumably Matilda was Ilger's sister. *Vide Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 147.

STATUTE WAGES DURING A YORKSHIRE EPIDEMIC, 1679–81.

By R. KEITH KELSALL.

It has long been recognised that the printed volumes of North Riding Quarter Sessions Records form an invaluable source of information for seventeenth-century social and economic history. From the point of view of this article they throw light upon one problem in particular which has not received the attention it deserves, namely the working of the wage-fixing arrangements of the Elizabethan labour code under conditions of temporarily acute labour scarcity. It would appear that, as a result of an epidemic in 1679–81, a shortage of labour developed in East and North Yorkshire; and that, in an endeavour to prevent wages rising to their full scarcity level, the justices redrafted the scales of maximum wages which, under the Statute of Artificers, might be paid and accepted, and attempted to make employers and workers conform to those scales.

The least interesting aspect of the affair—the evidence regarding the existence of an epidemic likely to bring about a temporary scarcity of labour—can be summarised quite shortly. According to my original plan, a fairly extensive sample of parishes in the area under review was taken, and the recorded burials in the three years 1679–1681 were compared with the mean of six years (the three preceding and the three following). Although this method suggested that an epidemic affecting most of East and North Yorkshire must have taken place at this time, it was open to the objection that the years chosen for comparison might not be representative—that the number of deaths in this six-year period might be below normal. In order to meet this objection, fuller information was obtained about a smaller sample. Twenty-four of the parishes in the original sample provided burial figures for the whole of the thirty-year period 1664–1693. Taking these twenty-four as a new sample, it was found that in twenty-one of them the number of recorded burials in 1679 or 1680 was the largest for the thirty-year period. In the remaining three parishes 1682 was the year with the highest number of recorded burials, 1680 being the second highest. Taking this sample as a whole, the highest years of twenty-one parishes and the second highest

of three parishes exceeded the mean of the thirty years by 121 per cent. It can hardly be doubted that such a situation would, in a large agricultural area, be likely to lead to a temporary shortage of yearly farm servants, particularly as, in most of the parishes examined, several years of high mortality followed one another. So far as the epidemic is concerned, it is true that evidence other than that of parish registers is lacking; but Creighton, on the basis of contemporary London material, records an influenza in 1679, and epidemic agues extending over three seasons, 1678–80.¹

With regard to the policy of the justices we are naturally dependent upon Quarter Sessions material. Taking the East Riding first, although unfortunately both rolls and minutes are missing for the period under review, something can be learnt from two recently-discovered wage assessments. As these have already been printed, it will be sufficient to indicate their bearing on this particular enquiry.² The assessments are for 1669 and 1679 respectively, and while the first relates to the whole of the Riding, the second would appear to apply merely to the Ouse and Derwent Division. The first relevant point seems to be that the later assessment is prefaced, in the petty constable's memorandum book where it was found, by a set of rules summarising the duties of masters, servants and constables as contained in the Statute of Artificers. We are, perhaps, justified in assuming that it was not an accident that these rules should preface the second rather than the first assessment; for if the justices proposed to attempt wage regulation under rather abnormal circumstances it would be natural to provide a "refresher course" for those to whom unfamiliar duties would fall. A second point of interest is that the 1679 rature contains yearly wages only. This fits in very well with the circumstance (to which attention will shortly be drawn) that all the North Riding presentments for overpayment were in connection with yearly wages. It would have been foolish to disturb the existing daily and piece rates for farm work and village crafts because of a temporary labour shortage; such a shortage would naturally show itself first in the hiring of yearly servants, where, in any case, latitude had always to be allowed for differences in experience and efficiency. Corroboration of the nature of the situation with which the justices had to deal is, it may be suggested, provided by the absence of daily and piece

¹ Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain*, pp. 328–35.

² *English Historical Review*, vol. lii, 283–9.

rates in the 1679 assessment. A third point of significance is that the increases sanctioned were for yearly rates *with board*. These increases, as compared with the rates drawn up ten years previously, ranged from twenty to sixty-seven per cent., the mean increase being thirty-six per cent.¹ As these changes in rates include board, they cannot well have been necessitated by a rise in the cost of living. There is, moreover, no reason to suppose that any substantial change in the demand for labour took place in these ten years. A change in the supply curve of labour, connected with factors other than the cost of living, would provide a reason; and the only factor likely to lead to such a change in this area at this time is, it would seem, increased mortality due to sickness.²

For the North Riding, where sessions minutes are, of course, available, our information is a good deal fuller. Action was first taken on 20th April 1680, when a new wage assessment for the whole of the Riding was drawn up: at the same time chief constables were ordered for the future to keep their statute sessions according to law, and to enquire into offences against the Elizabethan labour code, and present them at the next sessions.³ At the sessions held the following July, the justices turned their attention also to the petty constables as a means, supplementary to the attendance of masters and servants at statute sessions, of tracing those not keeping within the wage limits laid down the previous Easter. The chief constables of the Western Division of the Riding were ordered to issue out their warrants to the petty constables, requiring them to make their returns in writing, at the next statute sessions, of the usual details regarding masters and servants in their parishes (names, wages, and when contracts of service would terminate), as well as the names of masters and servants refusing to furnish the information required.⁴ At the next sessions (in October) a similar order, relating to chief constables in the Eastern Division of the Riding, was made; and warrants were to be issued out against petty constables in the Western Division who had made imperfect returns, or had failed to make returns.⁵ Then, in the following January, we find the

¹ Due to an unfortunate arithmetical slip, these three percentages were wrongly given in the article mentioned above; they are the only percentages affected by this slip.

² Concerted action by workers to raise wages would be, quite apart from the legal obstacles involved, unlikely in a large agricultural area;

while migration on the necessary scale would have created problems elsewhere of which we should expect to have heard.

³ North Riding Record Society, *Quarter Sessions Records*, vol. vii, 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

first results of this activity—presentments, evidently arising from the statute sessions of the previous Martinmas. One of these relates to an employer receiving a servant who had departed from her former master without permission.¹ The other relevant presentments relate to masters and servants agreeing to wages above the rates assessed the previous Easter. The way in which these presentments are recorded in the minutes, quite apart from their number, is of some interest.² Instead of merely stating that the following presentments were concerned with paying and receiving more than the allowed rates, as in the previous instances in these minutes, and in similar instances in other Quarter Sessions minutes, the more elaborate method is adopted of giving one case in great detail, and then adding a list giving the status and parish of other masters offending in this way, possibly to add emphasis or make the nature of the offence clearer. Thus we are told that twenty-six masters overpaid their maid-servants, and twenty-seven their men-servants in husbandry, and in one instance in each class the exact extent of the overpayment is noted.

There was an adjournment to Bedale a few days later, when five further presentments relating to overpayment of servants are recorded.³ The justices evidently felt, however, that they must not confine their attention solely to raising the allowed rates and preventing these new rates from being exceeded, but that something should also be done to render the shortage itself less acute. When reminding the chief constables of the Western Division of their previous instructions, they therefore took the opportunity of ordering them also to issue out their warrants to the petty constables to make return of all servants who, though able to work, remained at home, so that such action might be taken by the justices as the law directed.⁴ The following Easter there were seven further presentments in which overpayment was the offence; the degree of overpayment, if we are to judge by the "sample" case given on each occasion, was steadily falling, however, either owing to an improvement in the labour position, or to the increasing success of the justices' policy. At subsequent sessions, indeed, nothing is heard of overpayment, though in July the petty constables of the Western Division are once more exhorted to deliver returns at the next statute sessions of all the names and ages of men and women servants remaining at home and not going to service.⁵ By the following year the labour shortage had evidently ceased to be acute, for we find two presentments

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44. ² *Ibid.*, p. 45. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 47. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

where yeomen dismissed their servants without legal cause.¹ It may be assumed that, apart altogether from a reduction of deaths, migration of farm labour into the North Riding had taken place, in response to higher wages, from adjacent districts not so seriously affected, and was by this time making itself felt.

At no point, it may be observed, is it expressly stated in the minutes that a labour shortage exists—the announcement that wages have been re-assessed is not accompanied by any explanation of this action, and the subsequent orders and presentments we have discussed are also recorded without explanatory comment. This, while explaining why the special significance of the episode has hitherto passed unnoticed,² does not, however, cast any very serious doubts upon the existence of the labour shortage, which is here treated as being a clue to the justices' policy. For the presentments relating to overpayment are more numerous than any recorded in the North Riding or elsewhere for such a short period.³ And it also happens that the employers concerned in these presentments are drawn, in the main, from two small areas, represented in our burial-register sample by parishes with abnormally high mortality for the three years 1679–81.

What conclusions regarding the working of wage assessment machinery under abnormal conditions can be drawn from this episode? It is clear that emphasis must, in the first place, be laid on the delays inherent in the whole procedure of assessment and enforcement. Thus the Statute laid it down that wages were to be rated at Easter Sessions, or at a sessions held within six weeks after Easter⁴ (though later legislation, it is true, sanctioned the rating of wages at *any* general sessions). Where this rule was still adhered to, and where statute sessions were held only once a year, at Martinmas, it might be anything from nine to eighteen months after an emergency had arisen before a new wage policy could be put into operation and the first batch of those defying that policy proceeded against. Some of the delays might have

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54 and 56.

² Dr. Atkinson, in editing the *Records*, merely remarks that all that was done was in accordance with the Statute of Artificers. Dr. Peyton (*Kesteven Quarter Sessions Minutes*, vol. I, p. cxi) commenting on the volume of North Riding presentments on this occasion, implies that the justices, in common with those of Buckinghamshire and Shropshire, may have been engaged in applying

a long-term wage-stabilisation policy; whereas in fact their re-assessment of wages represented an attempt to bring previous standards into conformity with an emergency situation.

³ Only thirty other cases of overpayment are recorded in the North Riding minutes for the whole period 1605–1716.

⁴ Tawney and Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, vol. i, 343.

been reduced had it been the practice to require petty constables to bring their bills of masters and servants before the justices, either at Quarter Sessions or other sessions, instead of having to wait until Martinmas for this necessary information. No hint is, however, contained in the North Riding Sessions Minutes that any attempt to short-circuit normal procedure in the matter of these bills was made. Had statute sessions been held more than once a year, too, delays would have been reduced.

In the second place, the evidence suggests that delays incidental to the observing of customary seasons for assessment and hiring were, as one would expect, amplified by the failure of the officers concerned to carry out their instructions. The chief constables had to be reminded, after the original orders had been issued, to take steps to bring negligent petty constables into line: they themselves, to judge by the wording of the order at Easter Sessions 1680, had been lax in the holding of their statute sessions. The presentments which finally emerged were, as we have seen, highly localised in character, presumably partly because the tendency towards overpayment was stronger in some areas, but probably partly also because of wide variations in the attention paid by different officers to the instructions they received. If adequate records of wage bargains were kept at statute sessions, of course, a partial check on the correctness and completeness of petty constables' bills was provided. This would depend for its value, however, upon the extent to which private (*i.e.* unrecorded) bargains were, legally or illegally, entered into. A list of no fewer than one hundred and twenty employers drawn from one district who failed to appear at statute sessions to hear the assessed rates and hire their servants according to law is to be found in the Holland Sessions Minutes for Midsummer 1676; the practice of private bargaining may, therefore, have been fairly general in Yorkshire, too, at this period.¹ There are obvious *a priori* reasons for supposing that, in the peculiar conditions of the years under review, private bargains would be increasingly resorted to; and the repeated insistence of the justices on the return of bills by the petty constables is, therefore, understandable.

Delays of some of these types were, in the third place, made more serious in their effects by the fact that the justices had, in setting their assessment, to make certain assumptions both

¹ Massingberd (*Victoria County History, Lincoln*, vol. II), though commenting on questions of wage regulation, makes no mention of this extensive list of offenders against the Statute.

regarding future supplies of labour and regarding present supplies; the more serious the delays in determining the extent of non-observance, the slower the discovery of errors in these assumptions, and hence in the assessed rates, was bound to be. The volume of North Riding presentments, coupled with the sanctioning of apparently larger increases in the East Riding rate of 1679, suggests that the North Riding justices had underestimated the extent of the labour shortage; but by the time this was made clear the emergency itself had almost passed.

Altogether, therefore, the episode would seem to show that the machinery of wage assessment was not well adapted to meet short-period fluctuations in labour supply. That the justices of East and North Yorkshire should have made this attempt is, perhaps, more a tribute to their zeal than to their judgement.

RECORDS OF ROECLIFFE.

By SIR THOMAS LAWSON-TANCRED, Bart.

DESCENT OF THE MANOR.

The Manor of Roecliffe, near Boroughbridge, formerly belonged to the Crown. It was not "ancient demesne," and does not appear as a manor in Domesday, but it may perhaps be identified with the Domesday berewick of "Estuuick" then belonging to the Archbishop of York.

When it first came to the Crown is not known. Its recorded history begins in the reign of Edward I, when it formed part of the Honour of Knaresburgh, then belonging to Edmond, Earl of Cornwall, first cousin of Edward I. On the death of the Earl in 1299 it reverted to the Crown.

In 1372 the Honour of Knaresburgh became included in the Duchy of Lancaster and the Manor of Roecliffe was administered by the Duchy officials. Roecliffe remained in the Duchy until 1628 when it was sold by Charles I. Afterwards the manor passed from the Tancreds to the Lawsons, from whom it has descended to its present owner, Lady Lawson-Tancred.

Roecliffe adjoins Aldborough, and was formerly in the ecclesiastical parish of Aldborough, but it has always been a distinct and separate manor, not included in the Liberty and Soc of Aldborough, though administered by the same Duchy officials. This was due, no doubt, to the difference in the system of land tenure, Aldborough being a manor of "ancient demesne." The Court Rolls and Manor Accounts begin from the fourteenth century, but many of the early Rolls are missing.

The neighbouring manor of Copgrove was held by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and disputes were frequent. Brampton, on the north bank of the Ure, also belonged to the Knights of St. John.

Enclosure on a small scale was beginning in the early fifteenth century, but the manor was not finally enclosed until 1842.

The "Manor" or Lordship of Roecliffe consisted of old feudal dues which were levied from the lands and tenements of the manor by the Crown. This "Lordship" in 1300 was worth £15 15s. 2³/₄d. to the Crown, but rose to about £22 under the Duchy

of Lancaster and remained fixed. This sum did not represent the total value of the land, which was mostly in private hands and varied. The Tancreds, who owned most of the land in early times, did not own the "Manor" until the seventeenth century. The "Manorial Incidents" which comprised the copyhold rents, quit rents, etc., and represented the old "Lordship," were abolished everywhere by Act of Parliament in 1936.

There was a chapel in Roecliffe which contained a chantry dedicated to Our Lady. The chantry was abolished in 1547, though the chapel was allowed to continue; but all trace of this chapel has long disappeared. The present church in Roecliffe was built by the Lawsons in 1844, when Roecliffe became a separate parish and no longer part of the Parish of Aldborough. Before the Reformation the chantry priest often officiated as Reeve of the manor.

In 1300 the Manor contained about 960 acres, with a wood half a league in circuit. The area of the present parish of Roecliffe is 1,862 acres, and the population is 223. It is entirely agricultural.

In the early Court Rolls, etc., the name of Roucliff, de Row-cliff, etc., appears as a surname which survived in the parish up to the time of the parish registers. In Glover's *Visitation* of 1585 (p. 383) a pedigree is given of Roccliffe of Roccliffe, which appears to have been a family of some note in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Perhaps this visitation family came from Rawcliffe near Goole, as the Roucliffes do not appear as extensive land-owners in Roccliffe, although resident there. None of the other larger freeholders was resident, and local affairs appear to have been largely managed by the chantry priests, and later by the vicars of the parish.

ACCOUNTS RELATING TO THE MANOR (1406, 1547).

ROUCLYFFE The Account of Will Brown Reeve there from Michaelmas 8 Hen. IV to the Michaelmas next following—
One full year—

Arrears	nil	Sum	nil
---------	-----	-----	-----

Farm of the Demesne Lands.

- | | | | |
|----|-----|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | 5. | 0 | from the farm of the Capital Messuage with a garden where the Manor used to be as per Rent Roll 50 Ed iii |
| 4. | 19. | 8 | from the farm of 11 bovates & 9 acres of land, & 5 acres, 3 roods of Pasture from various tenants there as per same Rental |

2.	0.	0	from the farm of 4 bovates of Land & 2 acres of Pasture as above
2.	4.	0	from the farm of 12 acres of demesne meadow as per same Rental
0.	13.	4	from the farm of 40 acres of demesne Land called FORESTFLATTE as per same Rental
0.	9.	3	from the farm of 1 bovat of demesne called FORLAND as per same Rental
			Sum £11. 11. 3

Free Rents with farm of Bondage, Tallage, Escheat, etc.

0.	3.	6	Free Rents of the Tenants of 2 messuages & 4 bovates of Arable at usual times.
0.	4.	11	from their Services
0.	18.	8	from the rent of 17 messuages, 1 toft, 20 bovates 27 acres 1 rood of Bondage Land, & a messuage & 2 bovates which Ric Brennand held, now granted to John Cook by the Queen
2.	2.	8	from their Services
1.	3.	5	from the farm of 2 messuages & 2 bovates 23 acres of Escheat Land
0.	5.	6	from rent of 1 bovat of Escheat Land in Aldborough which used to return 10/6 per annum
1.	2.	6	from the farm of 11 cottages, 3 tofts, 8 crofts
0.	0.	4	from the farm of the Township
0.	1.	6	from rent of the Township of Westwick
1.	0.	0	from Tallage
0.	6.	5	from Free Rent of the Tenants of 1 carucate of land in Minskip, belonging to the Manor of Roccliffe as per above Rental
0.	0.	8	increased Rent of Richard Brennand for a messuage & 2 bovates 10 acres of land in Roccliffe which were John Perotson's seised into the hands of the Lord for a Felony committed by said John Besides 6/3 Old Rent as per Court Roll 1 Ric ii
0.	6.	8	from the farm of the FISHERY of Roccliffe built with the fishery of the water of Yore belonging to the Manor of Roccliffe, viz between the Manor of Westwick & the culture called Pancard flatte, ¹ demised to William Folham for term of life with free ingress & egress on the banks of said river to the said Fishery.

¹ Panckarde Flatte, now called Arrow Fields, where the Devil's Arrows stand. In Aldborough Parish.

And he will make & keep up the hedges of said Fishery
at his own expense as per Court Roll 5 Ric ii

Sum £7. 16. 11

Increased Rent with New Rent.

0.	0.	11	increased rent of Henry de Thorlthorpe for a cottage with croft—demised by William de Nessfield, late Chief Steward as per Court Roll 50 Ed iii. And the said Henry will keep up the building at his own expense & will have Common of Pasture & Turbary		
0.	2.	0	increased rent of Will Spink for a cottage with croft etc		
0.	2.	0	increased rent of said William for a cottage & croft		
0.	1.	5	increased rent of Anne, late wife of Stephen son of Thomas for a cottage etc		
0.	0.	2	increased rent of John Grave for a cottage etc		
0.	1.	5	increased rent of Henry Ponder for a cottage etc		
0.	1.	5	increased rent of Robert Ingerthorp for a cottage etc		
0.	1.	7	increased rent of Forman for a cottage etc		
0.	2.	1	do.	do.	do Ric Barker for a cottage & croft
0.	2.	1	do.	do.	John Swynhyrd ———do——
0.	1.	8	increased rent of John Malkynson for a cottage & croft		
0.	1.	4	——do	——	Will Brown ———do
0.	6.	0	——do	——	Henry Langethorp——do—— do
0.	0.	4	——do	——	John Bekworth for Escheat Land
0.	13.	7	——do	——	of 2 1 messuage & 1 bovat of Escheat
0.	11.	10	——do	——	John atte Tounend for a messuage & 23 acres of Escheat Land
0.	0.	4	——do	——	John Brown for leave to enclose his croft
0.	0.	3	——do		of a Waste in Roccliffe, built upon, late in tenure of Henry Lange-thorp, afterwards in tenure of Richard Lyon
0.	0.	1	New Rent of John Brown for a piece of waste in Roccliffe at end of Town, next his tenement, 14 ft long 27 ft broad		
0.	0.	1	——do		of John Roucliffe, Chaplain, for license to enclose the croft at end of his garden
0.	0.	1	——do	——	Adam Brown ———do———do
0.	0.	0½	——do		John Brown for license to enclose a croft

0. 0. 1 ———do John Malkynson ———do ——— 1 rood of
land at end of his garden

0. 4. 0 Increased Rent of a place called le Heads lately in
tenure of John Barwick now demised to John Brown
& Margot his wife & William their son

Sum £2. 14. 10

Perquisites of Court.

0. 8. 10 from Perquisites of Court this year as against £1. 0. 1
last year

0. 3. 4 from Fowling this year

Sum £0. 12. 2

Sum Total of Receipts

£22. 15. 3

of which he has paid to Nicolas Colne the King's
Receiver by a bill attached to account £22. 2. 10

And he owes £0. 12. 6

1547 Extract from Commission dated 22 May, 1 Ed VI, directed
to Henry, Earl of Cumberland, William Mallet, Richard
Greene of Nuby, Thomas Slingsby, William Tanckard,
James Pullen, and Marmaduke Coghill.

Whereas the Collector of Aldborough for the time being is yearly
charged to collect & pay yearly to our Sovereign Lord the King
the sum of £22. 12. 1 of the Rents & farms of certain lands of
the Manor of Aldborough, lying & being within the Soke of Knares-
burgh, & that divers parcels of the said lands, whereof parcel of
the said Rent doth go forth, are decayed, so that the Collector
cannot collect the said rents as he hath done in times past, to
the great charge & hindrance of the said Collector.

Therefore We will that you by the oaths of 12 men of the said
Soke, do make Enquiry of all such parcels of land & Rent so
decayed, & certify the same under your seals unto the said Court
at the Feast of All Saints next.

Item. Such like Articles for the grave of Roecliffe who is charged
to pay yearly £21. 13. $4\frac{3}{4}$

Summary.

In 1300 the demesne lands were kept in hand by the Lord of
the Manor, and consisted of a Manor House and about 270 acres
of land. The value of the demesne was returned at £7 18s. The
tenants' lands consisted of about 46 bovates, with a rental of
£7 17s. $2\frac{3}{4}d$. The total value of the manor was £15 15s. $2\frac{3}{4}d$.

In 1406 the demesne lands, comprising about 293 acres and
rented at £11 11s. $3d$., were let on lease. There was no Manor

House. The tenants' lands comprised about 43 bovates, rented at £7 16s. 11*d.*; increased rents £2 14s. 10*d.*; perquisites of court and fowling 12s. 2*d.* The total value of the manor was returned at £22 15s. 3*d.*

The value of the "Manor" to the Duchy of Lancaster seems to have remained at about the above figure up to the year 1628, when it was sold by the Crown.

The mediaeval tenantry consisted of five or six free tenants and about twenty bond tenants. The status of the latter seems to have been that of villain socmen rather than pure villains, as their rents and services were fixed and they were not liable to the payment of heriots or merchet. In addition to these two classes there were a number of cottars who held, at the "will of the lord," cottages with small plots of land. The "gyrsmen" mentioned in the Court Rolls belonged to this class.

EXTRACTS FROM COURT ROLLS OF ROECLIFFE AND ALDBURGH
(28 Edw. III—43 Eliz.).

28 Ed iii John Tankard,¹ chaplain, ought to have appeared at this Court to perform his Fealty for lands & tenements which he holds of the Queen in Roccliffe. The Reeve says that the said John has nothing which he can distrain, except a rent of 4/- due from Richard son of Alan. Therefore the said Richard is to retain the said rent in his own hands until the said John comes to do Fealty etc.

28 Ed iii Be it known that the Allowances made to all the Reeves of Roccliffe, from the time of the Plague until now, for 42 acres of demesne land, are not allowed them. Because John de Brereton who holds 21 acres has paid 6/8 a year. And Richard Lyon & Ralph son of Alan say that they have held 21 acres at 6/8 a year. So that by inspection of all the Court Rolls from the time of the plague until now there has been no diminution of the rent paid.

29 Ed iii Richard son of Alan was elected Reeve but refused to act. Therefore he is in mercy. John de Berwick is elected Reeve.

29 Ed iii Stephen son of Thomas complains of Ralph Grayve. Pledge Richard Barker.

Stephen says that in open Court Ralph called him by a nick name, viz Stephen STYCBYC, whereas his name is Stephen fitz

¹ John Tanckard was Vicar of All Saints', York (Pat. Rolls, 26 Edw. III). He was a younger son of John Tankard of Boroughbridge.

Thomas. He claims 2/- damages. Ralph comes & admits that that is his proper cognomen, but he says that Stephen is better known by the nick name of Stycbych than by the cognomen fitz Thomas. It is decided that Stephen do not recover damages, but should be in mercy, and that Ralph is acquitted.

29 Ed iii John de Kenlay of Copgrove is to be arrested to show cause why he has constantly caught hares & rabbits in the Queen's demesnes with nets & traps.

29 Ed iii John de Kenlay of Copgrove is fined 20^d for catching hares within the Queen's Warrens with nets & other engines. Pledge Master John de Barton.¹

29 Ed iii Andrew le Pinder complains of Philip Bevier and Emma his wife.

Andrew says that on 7th June last Philip attacked him and beat & wounded him, & that Emma came into his house & took away his ? value 20/-. Philip denies the charge. He says that Andrew attacked him first & tried to strangle him, & he had to defend himself, and that his wife Emma is not guilty of any offence.

29 Ed iii An Inquisition finds that John de Kenlay, John son of Margery Raper, John son of Will Malkeson, Richard Hereman & Richard Petipount made an attack on Will Brown & Will de Dighton and shot at them with Arrows, and beat & ill treated one Margaret Cruys

29 Ed iii It is found by the Jury that Agnes, wife of Robert de Weston, Jane, wife of John de Brereton, Agnes, wife of Will Spynk, Agnes, wife of John de Berwick, & Matilda de Roucliffe, have brewed beer & sold it against the Assize. Fined 6^d each

29 Ed iii King's Writ to the Queen's Bailiff of Roccliffe—viz John, son of Alexander Shorthose² of Boroughbridge holds 2 messuages & 36 acres of land in Roccliffe which William son of Thomas atte Gate, Robert de Inwick, parson of Methley, & Robert de Weston demised to him.

He is to appear at the next Court.

46 Ed iii Roll of Suitors at Court of Roccliffe.

Richard Burnand	John Boroun	John de Roucliffe
		Chaplain
John de Roucliffe	Henry de Brereton	Hugh Tankard
William Tankard	Will de Cave	John atte Townend

¹ Master John de Barton appears to have been in charge of the King's Stud in Haverah Park. See Grainge's *History of Harrogate*, p. 341.

² John, son of Alexander Shorthose of Boroughbridge, was farmer of the town of Boroughbridge. For pedigree of Shorthose see Surtees Vol. 144.

Will Raufson	Richard Whytehorne	John de Lincoln
Robert Erill	Will atte Keld	George son of William
John Wright	Ric Seill	Roger Fleshhewer
Jane de Brereton	Walter Manipe	Adam Boroun
William Tankard		

47 Ed iii John de Clynt, Will Crayne, Serlo de Westwick, John Emson, Hugh Schapman, Will Cave, John de Hesilton, Adam de Tollerton, Will Caberry, Tenants of Westwick, have cut wood in le Scough in Roecliffe without leave.

17 Ric ii ALDBURGH Court Roll.

The Jury present that William Fallon is a common Forestaller of Salmon, coming to sell them at the Market of Boroughbridge.

And a common destroyer of Salmon at the Fishgarth of Roucliffe.

28 Hen vi The Jury present that the Tenants of Copgrove come with their beasts on to Roccliffe Moor when they have no right. Distrained.

Item. They find that John Roucliffe & Thomas Brampton have encroached on the soil of the King by diverting water to the land of the Master of Ribston at BRAMPTON.¹ Distrained.

Item. They say that on 10 Oct 26 Hen VI (1447) Richard Bolton harboured a man coming into the Lordship "fetird in iron." for 1 day & 1 night And afterwards let the man go out of the Lordship without the permission of any Officer of this Lordship.

Item. They find that Katharine Roucliffe has scolded William Brown, junior, & called him a Thief. Fined 4*d*

Item. They find that Isabel Bolton has been gossiping with Jane, wife of Robert Young against a penalty formerly imposed Fined 12*d*

17 Hen. viii Thomas Huntrode, chaplain, is elected Reeve on account of lands belonging to the Chantry of S^t Saviour of Boroughbridge. He deposes William Precious to act for him.

Item No one is to bake bread in the oven of Christopher Parker under penalty of 12*d*

Item No one is to make a disturbance in the Town at night by walking about at illicit hours under pain of a fine of 13/4

18 Hen viii Christopher Parker has forfeited his penalty because he has allowed neighbours to bake at his Oven

¹ Brampton, opposite Roecliffe, on the north bank of the Ure, belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. After the Reformation it belonged to the Tancreds up to 1778. It was inherited from the Pavers in 1570.

Item The Oven, Stocks, & boundaries are to be properly made up before Easter under penalty of 13/4

Item Richard Brown of Minskip has been poaching & has taken fowl called Pertryks & Plovers at various times with unlawful engines called Tunnels without leave & has killed many.

Item Whereas divers penalties have been imposed that all the inhabitants are to keep up the Roads as shewn in the Court Rolls. Now this Court is informed that a lane called Roccliffe Lane is in very bad repair, so that the King's Lieges cannot use that Road

The Penalties imposed have been concealed & not presented by the Jury, who must increase the penalties. The Inhabitants must make & keep up a sufficient Lane & other roads before the Next Court under pain of a fine of 10/-

27 Hen viii Every husbandman in Roccliffe shall carry 1 cart load of Stones to Long Town End under penalty 12*d*, And all the men called GYRSMEN¹ $\frac{1}{2}$ a cart load under like penalty

Item The wife of Byrnand has forfeited a penalty for not keeping her Oven hot according to Ancient Custom. Fined 8*d*

7 Eliz The Jury find that Margery Hunter, widow, & Margaret Burnand, wife of Will Burnand are scolds & mischief makers to the great annoyance of their neighbours, against the Law & penalties imposed

Item Alice wife of Stephen Smith is a Receiver & Harbourer of the servants of her neighbours, who have stolen goods, against former penalties imposed.

The Reeve or his deputy is ordered to bring the above Margery, Margaret & Alice before William Tanckard² Esquire of Boroughbridge, Learned Senes-cal of the Queen, to answer all the Charges which may be brought up against them by the Queen's Officers

Extract from Sheriff's Turn held at Roecliffe on Saturday,
7th October, 6 Elizabeth (1564).

Free Tenants of the Lady Queen of Roecliffe.

Christopher Wandesford of Kirklington Esquire

William Tanckard of Boroughbridge Esquire

¹ "Gyrsmen" were small tenants who were granted rights of common on condition that they maintained the roads and performed other services. In the seventeenth century they were called "Grass-men."

² William Tanckard, of Boroughbridge, was Recorder of York 1536-1573 and Steward of the Honour of Knaresburgh. He owned most of the land in Roecliffe.

Thomas Tanckard, gentleman

Miles Wythes—William Silverside—John Burnand of Knaresburgh, yeoman, ————— Lacie gentleman—Richard Emmonson—Richard Berwick—Thomas Pretious, in right of his wife—Thomas Warde in right of his wife, for lands lying in Minskip, lately belonging to Francis Akars—Ralph Inchbald for lands there—John Erle—Roger Wythes & John Wythes

Are Free Tenants of the Lady Queen there, for which they owe suit at this Court. And so from Court to Court, that is to say every three weeks. And some of them have come in person or by their attorneys and made Fine with the Lady Queen for the remittal of their Suit of Court from Michaelmas last past until Michaelmas next following, for one full year. And it has been granted to them unless any Writ or Plea should intervene in the mean time, on account of which their presence should be necessary & opportune.

Extract from Court Roll of 17th April, 43 Elizabeth (1601).

Thomas Tanckard, Esquire, surrendered through Richard Hutton, Esquire, the Learned Steward of the Queen, to the use of Humphrey Ward, for a term of 21 years

A dwelling house called Bovill (?), a toft & Croft, with all buildings belonging

A Close of land called le Head containing about 3 acres

A Close called Middle Close alias Spinke Close of about 6 acres

A Close called the Chapel Garth containing $\frac{1}{2}$ acre

A parcel of land called Dinning Drills lying in a Close called le Scough Close containing about 5 acres

A Close called Swynsty Close of about 4 acres

A parcel of land lying in a Close called Hardrig Close, containing about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres lying in the West Field of Roecliffe on a Furlong called Andersons, in tenure of Roger Wright

(2) Thomas Tanckard surrendered to Henry Leetham and his heirs for ever

A Close called the Toft Headland of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre

A parcel of land called Nether Ing Close of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres

(3) Thomas Tanckard surrendered to Ralph Yonge & his heirs for ever

2 acres 1 rood in Roecliffe—viz in Byard Gaite Hill, Anne Davill, East—Nicolas Fawcet West

$\frac{1}{2}$ acre on a Furlong called Nether Mowers—Fawcet West Common Balk East,

1½ roods on a Furlong called Nether Mowers—Thomas Tanckard on all sides

3 roods in the West Field on a Furlong called Scoughland—Davill, West—A furlong called Mealand's Flat, East.

½ rood on a Furlong called Grafton Butts. Burnand South—Young North.

MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS.

Patent Rolls, 36 Edw. III.

Westminster, Feb 15. A Commission of Oyer and Terminer sent to William de Skipwith & others on information that Richard de Aldburgh, Robert de Roucliffe, chivalers, William Andy, Vicar of the Church of Aldborough, John Shorthose, William his son, Hugh Tankard, William Tankard, John Mauleverer chivaler, & others have broken the parks of Queen Philippa at Knaresburgh, Killinghall, Hampsthwaite, Friston, Aldburgh & Roccliffe C^o York—and entered her Free Warrens there, hunted in them, and in her Free Chases there, felled her trees, and fished in her several Fisheries there, carried away her fish & trees with other goods, as well as deer from the parks and Chases, and hares, coneys, partridges & pheasants from the Warrens, and assaulted her men & servants

Extracts from Recusant Rolls, 40 Eliz. (1598).

An Inquisition held at Pontefract 26 April 40 Elizabeth found that Thomas Tanckard, senior, Recusant, died possessed of the Manors of Roecliffe, Brampton, Kirby Hill etc. The Barons of the Exchequer adjudge that these Manors should remain in the Queen's hands (for Recusancy).

On 22 Oct., 40 Elizabeth. Thomas Tanckard, junior, pleads that his father had a life interest only in these Estates and after hearing evidence the Barons decide that the Queen's hand should be removed from these estates, and that Thomas Tankard, junior, be admitted to the possession thereof.

Royalist Composition Papers, 1653.

18 July 1653. John Rushworth having bought from the Treason Trustees the Manor of Roecliffe and lands in Boroughbridge, Brampton etc., formerly belonging to Thomas Tancred—He (Rushworth) is to receive the rents.

[Note.—On the restoration of Charles II the sequestered estates of the Royalists were returned to them and the Tancreds recovered the manor of Roecliffe.]

TENANTS A.D. 1300.

Free Tenants—

Robert de Burgo
 Richard son of Alan
 Thomas Fruggy

Adam Brackett
 William Tankard
 Will Spakeman

Bond Tenants—

Stephen de Minskip
 Stephen Punchard
 Henry son of Stephen
 John son of Robert
 William Palky
 Richard son of Henry
 Henry son of Herbert

Gilbert son of Anot
 Richard son of Peter
 William Brown
 Jerome son of Gilbert
 William Tuchet
 Ralph son of Alan

POLL TAX, 1379.

John Brown taxed 12*d*
 all others taxed 4*d*

John atte Town End
 Richard Barker
 Philip de Roucliffe
 Henry de Brereton
 William Brown
 John de Hunsingore
 Adam Brown
 John Tailliour
 Robert Hankin
 William Henryson
 John de Rouclyffe
 John de Berwick
 Henry Langthorpe
 Robert de Hoton

Henry Thorlthorpe
 Richard Diconson
 Robert de Weston
 Robert Erill
 Henry atte Yate
 John Barker
 John Malkynson
 Robert Colynson
 William Netehird
 William Spenk
 John de Huntington
 William de Cave
 John Bysshop
 Robert de Ingerthorpe
 Richard Forman
 John de Brereton

TENANTS OF THE TANCREDS IN 1803.

John Dawson
 Dennis Atkinson
 Robert Abbey
 Ralph Gilbertson
 Ellen Lonsdale
 Richard Winn
 Henry Wilson
 Thimas Swailes
 Catharine Hind

Joseph Gilbertson
 John Slater
 Thomas Lonsdale
 John Raper
 Matthias Thompson
 John Hawkins
 Rev^d John Halliwell
 William Stead
 John Naylor

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY YORKSHIRE RENTALS.

By WM. E. PRESTON.

The two rentals, bearing the dates 1645 and 1649, which form the subject of this introduction were recently discovered amongst the Pilkington family papers at Chevet Park, near Wakefield. They have a South Yorkshire interest and relate to the Yorkshire estates of Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and of Mary, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, his sister-in-law.

These estates were situate at Rotherham, Kimberworth, and in neighbouring townships. These townships are notable as being the cradle of the great Yorkshire iron industry, which even at that time was one of considerable importance.

The earlier rental is a statement of rents then in arrear, certain annual outgoings of the manor of Rotherham, and assessments in the manor of Rotherham, the lordship of Kimberworth, and other townships for the prosecution of the Civil War. The later one is not quite so interesting a document, but it constitutes a valuable record of the names of tenants, the amount of fine due to the Earl on the entry of a tenant to a property and the annual rent payable. Some contemporary memoranda by the hand of Francis Nevile, of Chevet, give the rentals an added importance in showing the purpose for which they were prepared, besides establishing some other facts of interest relative to the history of that part of the county.

From this source it appears that Sir William Savile, Baronet, of Thornhill, near Dewsbury, before the year 1643 had acted as steward or receiver of the revenues of the Earl's estates, manors, lands and ironworks in the counties of York, Derby, Stafford and Nottingham. His duties comprised the government and management of the estates, the collection of rents and revenues, and the preparation and rendering of a yearly account to the Earl's auditor, Sydney Beere.

Sir William Savile at the outbreak of the Civil War was identified with the King's party, and while holding a command in the Royalist Army he died at York on the 24 January 1643-4, his body being taken to Thornhill and buried there on the 13 February following. By his will, which is dated 18 July 1642, he

disposes of his estates and personal effects and appoints his wife, Lady Ann Savile, and his faithful friends, Sir John Ramsden of Longley, Sir Richard Hutton of Hutton Pannell, knights, and Francis Nevile of Chevet, executors.

Savile died owing considerable sums of money, and not the least of these debts were large sums due to the Earl of Pembroke, representing moneys which he had collected and failed to pay to the Earl's auditor. The default of Savile in meeting these obligations was due, no doubt, to the unsettled state of the country and the disorganization of civil life brought about by the military activities in the neighbourhood.

Nevile appears to have declined the responsibilities laid upon him by Savile's will. He says that he refused to join in the proof of the will, or to join as executor or to administer by reason of the wars, for that he was neither able to get possession of the goods to keep them, or dispose of them. He was unable to account for them by reason that he was a belligerent declared and wholly disabled to do any service therein.

Savile's estates were sequestered by the Parliament, as also were Nevile's, both being active Royalists. Nevile made composition for his own estates in 1644, and then proceeded to clear Sir William Savile's estates from sequestration, a work on which he was engaged three years at his own costs. When his work was completed he freely handed over all the estate to Lady Savile's management, she promising to see Nevile freed from all engagements. She proceeded to the payment of her husband's debts, but with such inequality and so contrary to agreement that she and Nevile began to disagree. Nevile remarks that she preferred Mr. Jo. Coventry and other of her own relations before she repaid him the money which he had personally expended on the estate.

Lady Savile had in her employ a steward named Thomas Robson, whom Nevile regarded with dislike and suspicion, and even pointed out that Sir William did not esteem this man, as was shown by his will. Robson assisted in the management of the estate and badly advised the Lady on her business transactions. Some disagreement appears to have arisen about the occupancy of the house at Thornhill by Henry Savile, a younger son of Sir William. Referring to this incident, Nevile says: "I wholly opposed the putting out of Mr. Henry Savile out of the lands and house at Thornhill. By Robson's means a crew of plundering fellows from Sandal Castle was put into the house, and by whom the neighbours were robbed. It became a shelter for those fellows

and so was burnt, the house and goods at Thornhill were lost to the value of £4,000." Nevile would have brought Robson to trial on this account, but he was afraid that the consequences would fall heavy on Lady Savile or the estate. This happened in the year 1648, and afterwards Nevile was opposed to Robson meddling with the estate.

Sir George Savile, son and heir of Sir William, had left England, for some reason which is not stated. Nevile, referring to his absence, says that after 1648 he was "poynt blancke" against Sir George's tarrying beyond the seas, but would have had him come over, that the estate might be so ordered that neither Robson's practices nor anyone's miscarriages could in any way endanger it—the well-being of Sir George, the younger children, and the creditors depending upon it.

On 10 May 1645 Nevile was appointed by the Earl of Pembroke to take over the duties that had previously been those of Sir William Savile. The Earl, having special trust in him and recognizing his diligence and integrity, constituted him surveyor and receiver of the manors, lands, tithes and ironworks which the Earl enjoyed in his own right and in the right of his sister-in-law, with power to let such ironworks for a period not exceeding three years, and to cut down all such woods and trees on the premises as should be needful for the supply of the ironworks, and to pay all revenues to the Earl. He was to collect such sums of money as the former receiver, Savile, had left unaccounted for at the time of his death.

Nevile immediately took over his charge, determined to recover all outstanding debts due to the Earl. He claimed on the Savile estate such sums of money as Sir William had received but never accounted for. Considerable sums of money were found to be owing for rent, stocks and wood at the ironworks at Kimberworth near Rotherham, and at Crich Chase in Derbyshire. In the settlements claim was met by counterclaim, many debts being disputed, resulting in arbitration or legal proceedings to enforce payment. The Civil War and lapse of time were accountable for much of the neglect of the debtors in meeting their liabilities. It would seem that the manufacture of iron was a valuable source of revenue to the Earl. Lady Savile had continued the ironworks at Kimberworth from the date of the death of Sir William until the year 1646, claiming that she had leave from the Earl to occupy them; but this she could not substantiate by the production of a lease or other document. It was computed that

she owed rent for those years and the sum of £8,500, the value of the stock of bar iron and sows remaining there when she entered the works.

The Earl's ironworks at Crich had been seized in April, 1643, by Sir John Gell, the Parliamentarian, upon pretence that Savile had an interest in them, and by reason of his delinquency. He held the works for a year and took away stocks of bar iron. The Earl, having received notice of Gell's entry to the works, moved the House of Lords for restitution, declaring that Savile was but his bailiff there, and in consequence of his appeal had restitution ordered. Nevile says that the works were plundered of iron by soldiers of both parties successively, and further that he never came at Crich until Michaelmas, 1645, after which time there was neither furnace standing nor bar of iron left.

The two rentals which are herein printed belong to that period between 1645–1651, when Nevile was concerned in clearing up the finances of the Earl's estates which came within his jurisdiction. There is an additional rental at Chevet of the Earl's estates in Derbyshire, situate at Stony Middleton, Eyam and Bamford, dated 1647, but as this does not fall within the scope of this Society's activities it has been omitted. The Nevile estates at Chevet passed to the Pilkington family by inheritance in the eighteenth century, descending to the present owner, Col. Sir Thomas M. S. Pilkington, Bart., by whose kind permission these records are printed.

The certaine yearly paym^t and Anuall Allowance
due out of the Manner of Rotherham cū memb^s
hoc A^o 1645.

	<i>li</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Imprimis for the fee farme rent of Rotherham	20	00	00
Item, for the Rectorie of Rotherham	01	13	04
It. a rent out of Claytons farme	00	16	00
It. to the Vicar of Rotherham	16	13	04
It. more is my Lords guifte	50	00	00
It. to the curate	01	00	00
It. to the Clarke	00	06	00
It. to the minister att Bolsterstone	10	00	00
It. for the Rectorie of Harworth	10	06	08
It. the fee farme rent of Kimberworth	57	08	10 <i>ob.</i>
It. for rent of assize there	00	03	04

It. to my Lord of Strafford for Jordan Damm and Oxgrave	00 · 18 · 00
It. to S ^r Francis Wortley a rent out of the Falconers	00 · 13 · 04
It. to M ^r Humphrey Northall his waggis for 2 years and a halfe	11 · 00 · 00
It. for debbts and Acquittance	01 · 05 · 00
It. to the Steward for keepinge the Courte	03 · 00 · 00
It. Expences att both faires	13 · 06 · 08
It. the Bayliffes fees	30 · 00 · 00
It. the under Bayliffes fee	04 · 00 · 00
	<hr/>
Suma total	232 · 10 · 06 <i>ob.</i>

Disburssed for Casuall and
uncertaine chargs hoc A^o 1645.

	<i>li</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Imprimis for hedginge the Waife close	00	06	06
It. to Willm Satterthwaite for goeing to Yorke with a lettre to M ^r Nevile	00	06	08
It. to a Messenger w th a lettre to M ^r Newton in Derbyshire	00	03	00
It. the Juries dinner att all the Court Leets	03	11	00
It. for Rydinge charge to Yorke <i>et alibi</i>	01	10	00
It. to a messenger wch came to distrayne for the fee farme rent of Rotherham	01	00	00
It. for glasinge the Chancell	00	10	00
It. for mossinge & Ridginge the Colledge	01	04	00
It. to William Selvester for goeing wth a lettre to M ^r Nevile	00	09	00
	<hr/>		
Suma total	09	00	02

Assessments imposed upon my Lords Lands
lyeing within Towneshipp of Rotherham for
the Warres, hoc A^o 1645.

Imprimis upon twoe warrants one from Captain Westbye & the other from M ^r Ellis	14 · 00 · 00
It. pd the second of February for the moneth of November	04 · 15 · 00
It. February 9th for provision for y ^e Scottishe Army att Tickhill	13 · 06 · 08
It. to the Constables upon an assessment of 80 <i>li</i> for 3 moneths assess. to Sheffield garrison	20 · 00 · 00

It. to my Lord Belcarris Regiment being here 4 moneths.	140 · 00 · 00
It. to Mr Mountney for Rydinge farme eaten with Troops	05 · 00 · 00
	<hr/>
	197 · 01 · 08

Assessments imposed upon the Lordshipp
of Kimberworth for Warr. 1645.

Imprimis Thomas Smyth farme	07 · 14 · 00
It. for the Tythes for the last year	01 · 04 · 02
It. John Whittacres farme	11 · 01 · 00
It. Richard Kent	04 · 18 · 11
It. William Kent	07 · 17 · 00
It. Godfrey Cutlove	00 · 15 · 06
It. Thomas Webster farme	00 · 15 · 06
It. Thomas Garrett	00 · 16 · 04
It. Thomas Wainwright Farme	02 · 11 · 11
It. John Fletcher Farme	04 · 08 · 02
It. George Burgan Farme	03 · 08 · 06
It. George Jenkinson	01 · 16 · 10 <i>ob.</i>
It. Widdow Harris	00 · 12 · 01
It. Thomas Webster	00 · 07 · 03
It. the Tythes	10 · 09 · 08
It. the Coale pitts	10 · 08 · 00
It. the great Holmes	02 · 14 · 02
	<hr/>
	72 · 03 · 00 <i>ob.</i>
Thorpe	
Nicholas Crosley	00 · 04 · 00

Assessments imposed upon the Tennants
within Wadsley hoc A^o 1645.

Imprimis Willm̃ Creswicke	01 · 19 · 04
It. Widow Hall	00 · 07 · 05
It. Hugh Shawe	00 · 13 · 00
It. Widow Creswicke	00 · 09 · 03
It. George Hobson	00 · 02 · 02
It. Richard Fenton	00 · 03 · 02
It. Willm̃ Hobsonn	00 · 12 · 00
	<hr/>
	04 · 16 · 04

Assessments imposed upon the Tennants
within Catcliffe, 1645.

Imprimis Willm̃ Shepley	00 · 15 · 00
It. the Tithes	02 · 00 · 00
It. Tho. Guddison	00 · 06 · 00
It. Willm̃ Williamson	00 · 03 · 10
It. Thomas Jervis	00 · 07 · 04
It. John Badger	00 · 04 · 00
It. Widow Awstwicke	01 · 08 · 06
It. George Okes	08 · 08 · 00
	<hr/>
	13 · 12 · 08

Assessments imposed upon the Tennants
for the Grounds att Falconers A^o 1645.

Imprimis Richard Gillott	00 · 10 · 00
It. Tho. and Willm̃ Roggers	00 · 08 · 09
It. Willm̃ Tailor	00 · 05 · 00
It. Mr Robt. Smyth	02 · 00 · 00
It. Widdow Setchfeild	00 · 10 · 00
It. Richard Fenton	02 · 00 · 00
It. Alexander Nodder	01 · 10 · 00
It. Nicholas Scholey	05 · 00 · 00
	<hr/>
	12 · 03 · 09

Assessments imposed upon the Tennants
for the Grounds within Orgrave A^o 1645

Imprimis John Nodder	02 · 19 · 00
It. Thomas Stacye	06 · 15 · 00
It. John Hemingwray	01 · 16 · 00
It. Willm̃ Turner	02 · 08 · 02
It. Nicholas Ardren	01 · 18 · 07
It. the Tythes there	02 · 00 · 00
It. Willm̃ Horrobin	03 · 05 · 00
It. Willm̃ Binney	01 · 16 · 00
It. Christopher Mattlocke	00 · 17 · 00
It. Robt. Shawe & Tho. Beane	00 · 18 · 00
	<hr/>
	24 · 12 · 09

Assessments imposed upon these
Tythes followinge A^o 1645.

Imprimis the Tyth of Dalton	01 · 00 · 00
It. the Tyth Wooll & Lamb	07 · 03 · 00
It. the Tyth hay of Bradmarsh eaten up with Troops	05 · 00 · 00
It. the Tyeth of Gresbrough	25 · 00 · 00
It. the Tyth of Harrwoth	53 · 16 · 11
It. the Tythes of Brinsforth	10 · 00 · 00
	<hr/>
	101 · 19 · 11
Suma Total	426 · 10 · 01 <i>ob.</i>

Rents in Arreare hoc A^o 1645
Rotherham

Imprimis Thomas Partricke	00 · 11 · 00
It. Willm Letchforth	01 · 04 · 00
It. John North	00 · 02 · 06
It. Willm Watson	06 · 10 · 00
It. Alexander Clayton	01 · 06 · 08
It. George Sheemeld	03 · 16 · 08
It. Willm Riche	(paid all) 00 · 17 · 06
It. Wid. Dresburye	00 · 12 · 00
It. Thomas Partricke	00 · 08 · 00
It. Jeffrey Bilcliffe	02 · 00 · 00
It. Betts houses without a tennant	01 · 04 · 00
It. Ralph Hill	00 · 06 · 08
It. Wid Elcocke	01 · 05 · 00
It. Wid Twigge	01 · 07 · 04
It. Francis Tompson	02 · 00 · 00 ¹
It. Vincent Harril	01 · 04 · 00
It. Henry Revell, the tolls	05 · 00 · 00
It. Tho: Clayton	13 · 00 · 00
	<hr/>
	39 · 17 · 10

Kimberworth Rents Arreare

Imprimis. Widd. Kent	07 · 13 · 04
It. George Steele	02 · 00 · 00
It. Robt Steele	02 · 00 · 00
It. Willm Millner	09 · 00 · 00
It. Richard Winter	00 · 05 · 00

¹ Struck out.

It. Richard Hill	00 · 17 · 00
It. Thomas Harrwoode	00 · 05 · 06
It. James Bromeley	00 · 05 · 04
It. Thomas Clayton	00 · 00 · 04
It. John Lawton	00 · 01 · 03
It. W— Oakes	00 · 03 · 00
It. Thomas Wright	00 · 02 · 00

 22 · 12 · 09

Kimberworth

Thomas Clayton	00 · 04 · 00
Thomas Fletcher	00 · 04 · 00
John Senyor	00 · 04 · 00
Willm̃ Sharpe	00 · 01 · 00
John Fowlstonn	00 · 01 · 00
Willm̃ Wintin	00 · 01 · 00
Robt. Beete	00 · 00 · 04
Richard Kirke	00 · 01 · 00

 00 · 15 · 04

Thorpe Arrears

Jervase Greaves	05 · 06 · 08
Widdowe Hill	01 · 03 · 04
Humphrey Northall	00 · 12 · 00

 07 · 02 · 00

Tinsley

James Cocke	05 · 00 · 00
-------------	--------------

Dynington Arrears

Widdowe Bunivant	18 · 00 · 00
Robt Clarke	15 · 00 · 00
Edward Whetacres	08 · 00 · 00
Oliver Heptenstall	00 · 12 · 00
John Wright	05 · 00 · 00
Robt. Ryles	01 · 00 · 00
Willm̃ Laughton	00 · 00 · 04

 47 · 12 · 04

Wadsley

Gregorye Revell	60 · 00 · 00
John Barbar	00 · 05 · 00
Widdowe Drable	00 · 17 · 00

 61 · 02 · 00

Orgrave

Francis Wilcocke	00 · 02 · 00
Richard Hoppwoode	00 · 01 · 00

 00 · 03 · 00

Whitley

Nicholas Wilkinson	00 · 07 · 00
Dud mansdale	02 · 17 · 09 <i>ob.</i>
Cheife Rents	02 · 13 · 09
Ladye Reresbye Tythe Wooll e Lamb	03 · 06 · 08

 Total 204 · 08 · 11 *ob.*

	<i>li</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
The certain annual charges	232	10	06 <i>ob</i>
The uncertaine and casuall charges	9	00	02
The whole assessments for warr	426	10	01 <i>ob.</i>
The Rents arreare	149	5	11

 Total 892 · 19 · 09 *ob*

	<i>li</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
The whole charge with the accompt is charged with			
all upon this accompt for this year is	1995	15	06 <i>ob.</i>
The Sume above beinge allowed there remaines due			
to his Lordshippe	1178	14	3

A Rentall of the Right Hon^{ble} Phillipp Earle of
 Pembroke and the Right Hon^{ble} Mary Countesse
 Dowager of Pembroke of fines and Rents due by
 Lease dated the eight day of October Anno Dñ 1649
 as followeth, vizt.

Rotherham

		Fine			Rent		
		<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Imprimis	John Senior	5	00	00	4	13	4
	Christopher Tayler	10	00	00	3	6	8
	Richard Borgan	5	00	00	5	00	00
	Symon Cundie	3	00	00	1	10	00
	Suzan Sill	6	13	4	6	13	4
	John Borgan	5	3	00	5	3	00
	Nicholas Eyre	1	10	00	1	10	00

William Tirrye	3 · 00 · 00	5 · 6 · 8
Margarett Harris	15 · 4 · 2	15 · 4 · 2
Andrew Clayton	13 · 00 · 00	13 · 00 · 00
George Carr		
John Shawe	2 · 00 · 00	3 · 00 · 00
Thomas Hollis	2 · 10 · 00	2 · 10 · 00
James Townend	1 · 1 · 00	1 · 1 · 00
John Clarkson	2 · 16 · 8	2 · 16 · 8
Thomas West	2 · 00 · 00	4 · 16 · 00
John Malim	6 · 00 · 00	7 · 18 · 00
Robert Gee	2 · 10 · 00	1 · 3 · 4
William Greene	2 · 00 · 00	1 · 10 · 00
William Stainforth	6 · 13 · 4	4 · 13 · 4
Henry Revell	15 · 00 · 00	30 · 00 · 00
Richard Mountney	20 · 00 · 00	30 · 15 · 4
Francis Dickinson	200 · 00 · 00	136 · 13 · 4
William Hall		

Kimberworth

Francis Norborne	8 · 13 · 4	8 · 13 · 4
John Fletcher	10 · 00 · 00	8 · 10 · 00
William Kent	30 · 00 · 00	29 · 10 · 4
George Jenkinson	6 · 13 · 4	9 · 17 · 00
Thomas Waineright	11 · 00 · 00	11 · 00 · 00
Thomas Webster	4 · 00 · 00	4 · 00 · 00
John Crosse	15 · 18 · 4	15 · 18 · 4
Thomas Garritt	2 · 5 · 00	2 · 5 · 00
George Burgan	8 · 00 · 00	12 · 2 · 00
Alice Wood	16 · 00 · 00	16 · 00 · 00
William Milner	9 · 00 · 00	9 · 00 · 00
Thomas Hattersly	13 · 6 · 8	13 · 6 · 8
Godfry Cutlove	4 · 13 · 4	4 · 13 · 4
John Kay	20 · 00 · 00	40 · 00 · 00
John Cross		
Thomas Bankes	15 · 00 · 00	22 · 5 · 00
Alice Whitaker	50 · 00 · 00	22 · 19 · 8
Anne Cutler	5 · 00 · 00	4 · 5 · 00
Thomas Barnsley	20 · 00 · 00	48 · 00 · 00
Richard Kent	17 · 6 · 8	17 · 6 · 8
Rosamond Cutler	5 · 00 · 00	4 · 5 · 00
Richard Greenwood	20 · 00 · 00	26 · 5 · 00
Thomas Smyth	30 · 00 · 00	30 · 00 · 00

Wadsley

George Hobson	4 · 3 · 00	4 · 3 · 00
William Trippett	4 · 00 · 00	4 · 00 · 00
Thomas Revell	60 · 00 · 00	60 · 00 · 00
Edward Barber	8 · 00 · 00	8 · 00 · 00
Hughe Shawe	2 · 00 · 00	2 · 00 · 00
Mary Hall	4 · 00 · 00	4 · 00 · 00
Dorothy Drable	5 · 00 · 00	6 · 10 · 00
William Hobson	4 · 4 · 0	4 · 4 · 00
William Creswicke	13 · 10 · 00	13 · 10 · 00
Roger Wainewright	} 12 · 00 · 00	} 12 · 00 · 00
John Wilde		
Elizabeth Woodhowse		
Alice Lawe		
Richard Fenton	2 · 10 · 00	2 · 10 · 00

Hansworth
Woodhowse

Thomas Beane	} 3 · 6 · 8	} 3 · 6 · 8
Robert Shawe		
Elizabeth Turner	6 · 10 · 00	6 · 10 · 00
John Stacy	6 · 00 · 00	6 · 00 · 00
William Horrobin	23 · 10 · 00	23 · 10 · 00
William Binnye	19 · 00 · 00	19 · 00 · 00
John Hemingway	9 · 00 · 00	9 · 00 · 00
Christopher Mattclocke	4 · 00 · 00	4 · 00 · 00
Nicholas Ardron	3 · 6 · 8	3 · 6 · 8
Richard Wood	2 · 6 · 8	2 · 6 · 8
Henry Moore	16 · 10 · 00	33 · 00 · 00

Catcliffe

Elizabeth Awstwicke	3 · 19 · 00	3 · 19 · 00
John Nicholson	2 · 00 · 00	2 · 00 · 00
John Nicholson	5 · 13 · 4	5 · 13 · 4
William Shepley	5 · 10 · 00	5 · 10 · 00
William Tomlinson	1 · 1 · 00	1 · 1 · 00
William Williamson	1 · 13 · 4	1 · 13 · 4
Margaret Jarvis	6 · 13 · 4	6 · 13 · 4
Thomas Revell	6 · 00 · 00	6 · 00 · 00
George Oake	11 · 13 · 4	11 · 13 · 4

Brampton

William Veseye	12 · 00 · 00	6 · 00 · 00
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Tinsley			
James Cocke		5 · 00 · 00	5 · 00 · 00
Dallton			
James Brownell		7 · 00 · 00	7 · 00 · 00
Ecclesfeild			
Francis Crofts		6 · 10 · 00	6 · 10 · 00
John Clarke		5 · 00 · 00	6 · 10 · 00
Thomas Sheircliffe		33 · 6 · 8	17 · 5 · 00
Falcover			
Robert Tailer		2 · 13 · 4	2 · 13 · 4
Richard Scholey	}	9 · 00 · 00	9 · 00 · 00
John Rodgers			
Robert Scholey			
Nicholas Scholey		25 · 00 · 00	25 · 00 · 00
Alexander Nodder		7 · 00 · 00	7 · 00 · 00
Thomas Rodgers	}	2 · 13 · 4	2 · 13 · 4
William Rodgers			
William Setchfeild		2 · 10 · 00	2 · 10 · 00
Malim Lilley	}	2 · 3 · 4	2 · 3 · 4
Thomas Revell			
Treeton			
Richard Gillott, sen ^r	}	12 · 10 · 0	14 · 10 · 00
Richard Gillott, jun ^r			
Dinnington			
Elizabeth Whitakers		8 · 00 · 00	8 · 00 · 00
Oliver Heptonstall		0 · 12 · 00	0 · 12 · 00
Nicholas Wright		5 · 00 · 00	5 · 00 · 00
Thorpphesley			
Nicholas Hartley		2 · 00 · 00	3 · 6 · 8
Thomas Burdett		24 · 00 · 00	20 · 13 · 4
Anne Wiggfall		13 · 00 · 00	13 · 00 · 00
Brinsforth			
William Vesey		13 · 6 · 8	20 · 00 · 00
Thomas Keresforth	}	25 · 00 · 00	57 · 00 · 00
Thomas Coulbrand			

THE ROMAN SITE AT WELL.

INTERIM REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1938.

By R. GILYARD-BEER, B.A.

Excavations were carried out in the Mill End Garth at Well, N.R. Yorkshire, under the auspices of the Roman Antiquities Committee, from September 19th to October 1st, 1938.

Mr. H. Cheeseborough Hunt, the owner of the Garth, gave his ready permission, encouragement and active assistance to the work. The excavators also owe many kindnesses to the tenant and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Lidster. It is pleasant to be able to record the practical sympathy shown by the inhabitants of Well, tools and equipment being provided by the Vicar, Messrs. A. and E. Granger, and Mr. T. Scurrah the blacksmith, whilst Mrs. Thirkill put a cottage at our disposal for use as an office.

Assistance was given by the following voluntary helpers: Miss G. R. Boston, Mrs. T. Garnett Jones, the Misses N. and M. Walker, Messrs. C. J. Baines, H. Balmforth and D. Gaunt, the Rev. T. Garnett Jones and Mr. J. G. Scott.

In the preparation of this report I am indebted for advice to Messrs. P. Corder, D. B. Harden, C. F. C. Hawkes, B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Dr. F. Oswald, Messrs. I. A. Richmond and W. J. Varley, the last-named also lending photographic and surveying instruments. Particularly am I indebted to Miss A. M. H. Kitson Clark and to my brother D. Gilyard-Beer for their constant help before, during and after the excavation.

The Mill End Garth lies some 400 yards west of the parish church of Well, on the north side of a narrow valley that has been cut transversely through the ridge of magnesian limestone here forming a western boundary to the Vale of Mowbray. Along the north side of the Garth runs the embankment of a mill stream, and the excavations of 1938 were started at the point fixed in relation to this stream by the measurements of the Rev. W. C. Lukis in 1876 (*Y.A.J.*, vii, 284). The bath that the Rev. Lukis had noted was re-discovered, and the building to which it belonged was uncovered so far as time and the mill stream allowed. The Garth has been suspected to be the site of a Roman villa since at least 1725/6, and indications that sporadic exploration of the

THE ROMAN BATH HOUSE ^{A T} WELL

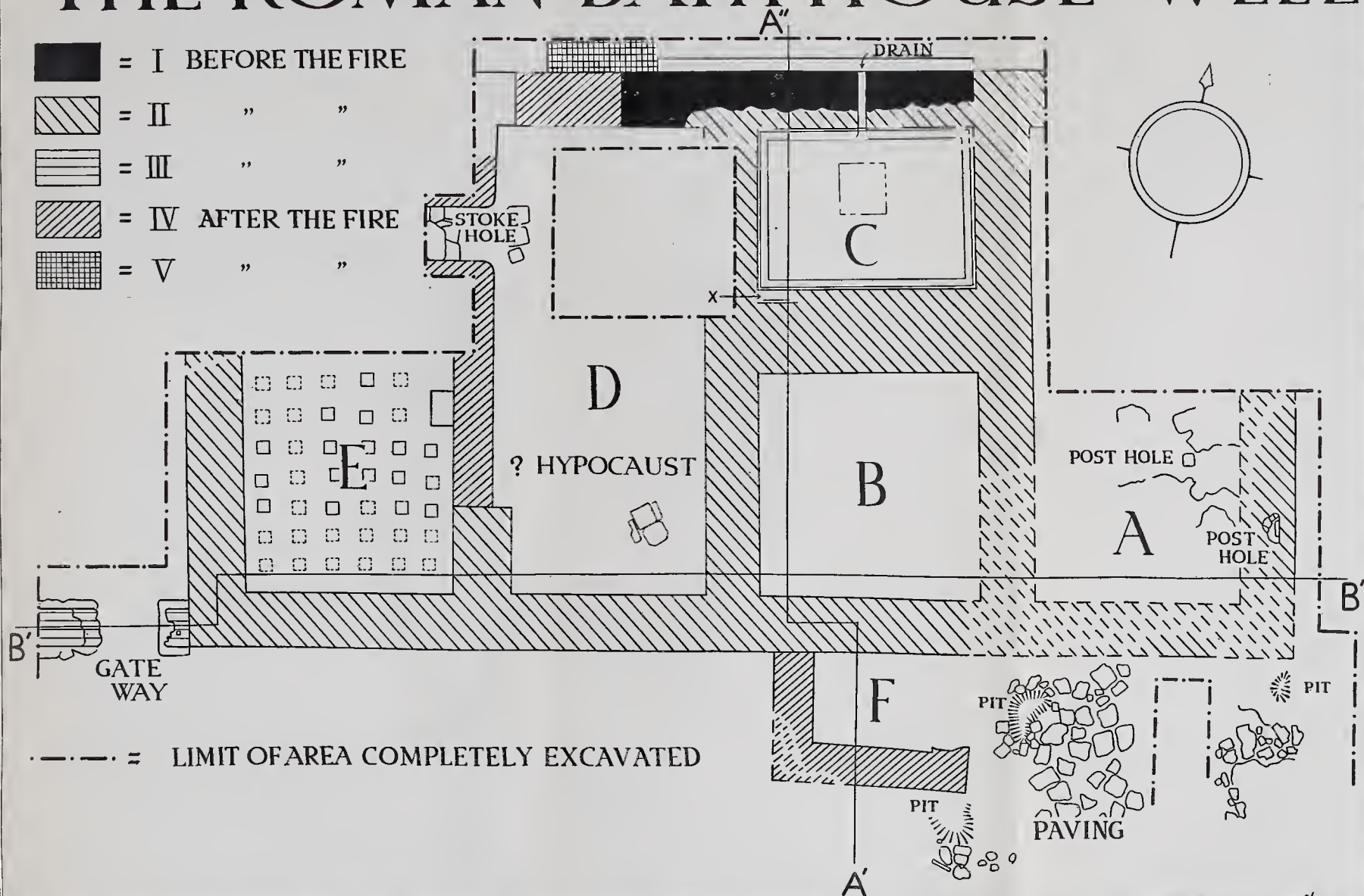
■ = I BEFORE THE FIRE

▨ = II " "

▤ = III " "

▥ = IV AFTER THE FIRE

▧ = V " "



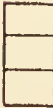

remains had been going on for many centuries were not lacking. The very thorough disturbance caused by this ensured that practically no reliable evidence of date was discovered in direct association with the building, and consequently this report deals almost entirely with structural features. Only to the south, beneath the unprepossessing courtyard pavement, did any Roman stratification survive, and it would therefore be imprudent to regard the dating suggested at the end of this report as more than tentative until further evidence has come to light.




THE ORIGINAL BUILDING. The bath recorded by the Rev. Lukis formed part of a rectangular building 51 ft. long by 26 ft. 9 ins. broad, lying approximately east to west. Part of the north wall of this building belongs to some earlier structure; it has a well-made square plinth quite unlike any other work on the site, and the east wall of Room C is built up against it with a straight joint that does not extend all the way through the wall but is confined to its outer (northern) half. The plinth passes below a later wall that has been added on the north side, and in all probability it stops at a straight joint 16 ft. 3 ins. to the west. The position of this plinth suggests that it belonged to the north wall of a previous building, all other traces of which must have been swept away when this fragment was incorporated in the north wall of a new rectangular


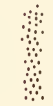

BATH BUILDING. To provide a good foundation for this new building the limestone floor of the valley had been planed level wherever possible, but towards the south-east this could not be done on account of the rock sloping sharply downwards. So a level surface was made here by means of limestone boulders packed in earth.

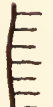


Six rooms of the building were explored. Room A (see plan) had been cruelly robbed, only a few foundation stones of its east and south walls remaining. Traces of its north wall—an extension of the north wall of the whole building—were picked up, but the north-east and south-east corners had both gone, and it was not possible to say whether the walls extended farther in those directions: the presence of a tiny piece of floor cement on the rock to the east suggests that there may have been another room here. The level of the vanished floor of this room had been made up with the limestone and earth packing.

In Room B the level rock had been covered by a thin layer of tightly compacted yellow sand, but its disturbed surface showed

 = BROWN CLAY
 = YELLOW CLAY & LIMESTONE

 = LIMESTONE & EARTH
 = RUBBISH PIT
 = BURNED DEBRIS

 = TIPPED DEBRIS
 = SAND
 = GRAVEL

 = HUMUS
 = LIMESTONE
 = ANIMAL BURIAL

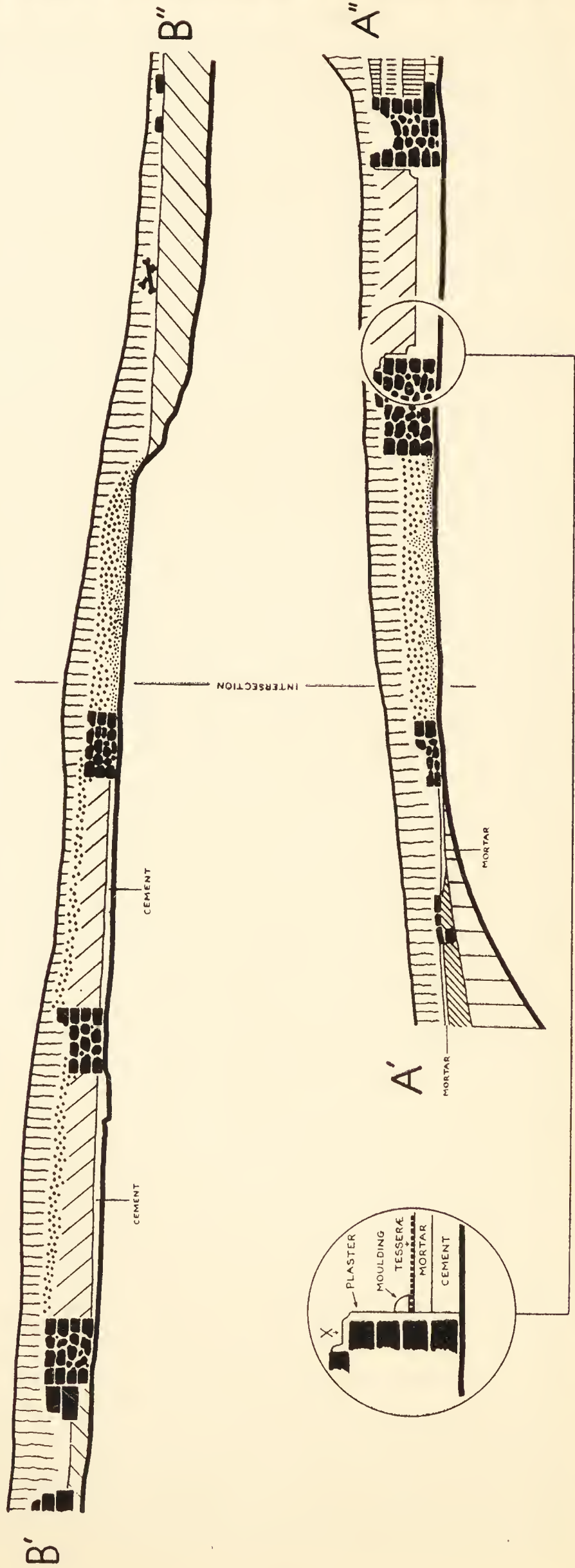




FIG. I.—The Bath House from the east.



FIG. II.—Room C from the east.

that whatever kind of floor it had supported had been torn out. The absence of any doorway in this and in all the other rooms of the building suggests that the floor level was higher than the present remains. The dividing wall between Rooms B and C was considerably wider than any of the others (3 ft. 9 ins. compared with 2 ft. 7 ins.), and the survival of a small piece of faced plaster marked X on the plan and section indicated that the extra width was intended to allow at least one plaster-faced step down to the lower floor level of Room C.

The floor of Room C consisted of 6 ins. of pink cement in which a little straw had been mixed, covered by 4 ins. of yellow mortar, which in turn had been capped by a thin skim of red cement. Over this there had been a tessellated pavement, of which enough remained to prove that it was white with a broad grey border on the south and with similar but narrower borders on the other three sides. Equidistant from the east and west walls of the room, but nearer to the north than to the south, were the remains of a plain rectangular red tile, 2 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. 4 ins., with a faint chamfer on its southern edge. Immediately opposite this tile the north wall of the room was pierced by a drain made of earthenware pipes jointed horizontally and slightly oval in section. The lower half of the pipe had been smeared underneath with fine clay before being set in mortar. The whole tessellated floor was canted very slightly towards the mouth of this drain, and immediately outside the north wall was discovered a block of millstone grit with a channel approximately 4 ins. deep and 4 ins. broad cut along one face—apparently part of a gulley to carry away the water or to support more drain pipes, as at the bath house of the fort at Balmuildy (*Balmuildy*, Pl. XVIIA, and p. 42).

The walls of the room had been covered with good pink plaster from one to two inches in thickness. The relationship of this plaster to the floor was particularly interesting, for it extended down to the rock and possessed a good face at least as low as the level of the pink cement (see enlarged section). This might have suggested that there had once been a lower floor level, but the fact that the drain (obviously designed for the level of the tessellated floor) was of one build with the wall and the plaster showed that all were also of one period. A quarter-round moulding of pink plaster had been added to the room, covering the grey border of the pavement on its three narrow sides. A parallel, for which I am indebted to my brother, occurs at Aldborough (*Isurium*

Brigantum) where the quarter-round moulding of the central pavement in the "basilica" covers the borders of the tessellated floor in a similar manner.

The almost total destruction of the north wall of Room C by the laying of the vicarage waterpipe along its core in 1876 makes it difficult to see exactly how the builders adapted their new work to the old plinthed wall of the original building. The curious unfinished straight joint in the north-east corner, however, suggests that they stripped off the southern face of the old wall and built a new face to take their handsome wallplaster and to provide themselves with a rough bond on the inside (though not the outside) of each northern angle (see fig. IV).

Room D had a thin covering of coarse cement over the rock, and in one place it had been re-inforced by flags to cover a fissure in the limestone. This floor was pitted in places and may have supported hypocaust pillars, but this cannot be stated with any certainty.

Only the southern half of Room E could be excavated. Its floor, otherwise like that of Room D, bore clear marks of small square hypocaust pillars, and, together with the walls, had slight traces of soot.

The whole of the building was uniformly constructed of roughly squared blocks of the local limestone (approximately 10 ins. by 7 ins. by 4 ins. deep) generously set in yellow mortar. Materials from some building that had suffered from fire were used in the construction both of its walls (isolated burned facing stones and core stones) and of the earth and stone packing forming its floor level to the south-east. Occasional pieces of fine mosaic were also found in the mortar and cement floors of Rooms C and D. Fragments of coarse plaster on the inside of the walls of Rooms B and E, and on the outside of the south wall of Room D, suggest that all the walls were covered with a thin coating.

The arrangement of the rooms is that of an ordinary bath house, dragooned into a strictly rectangular shape. Room A would perhaps be the entrance hall; B (which certainly had no hypocaust) the *frigidarium*, with direct access by steps to C, where the cold water tank probably necessitated the strengthening of the tessellated floor by means of the large tile in front of the drain. The eccentric position of this tile, and of the grey borders of the pavement, indicate that the drain influenced the design of the floor. E certainly and D probably had hypocausts. The latter may therefore have been the *tepidarium*, heated indirectly by the



FIG. III.—The drain in Room C. Part of the grey border of the pavement, covered elsewhere by the quarter-round moulding, can be seen in the mouth of the drain.



FIG. IV.—The north-east corner of Room C, showing 1, disturbed plinth stone; 2, straight joint; 3, wall core; 4, vicarage water-pipe; 5, gulley stone, originally found disturbed outside the drain.

hot air which had previously passed through the hypocaust of E, the *caldarium*. The dividing wall between these two rooms was later reconstructed, but the straight joint 4 ft. from the south wall may represent the side of one of the original vents.

THE GATEWAY. At a later date the southern wall of the bath building was produced westwards, and a gateway with jambs rebated for a framework was made just outside the south-west angle. From the slenderness of the wall and the lack of any associated floor it may be surmised that this was the boundary wall to the courtyard of roughly pitched stones lying to the south of the building. After the building of the gateway and before the reconstructions mentioned later in this report there occurred a

FIRE—whether by accident or design cannot be said. It did most damage on the northern side of the buildings, and the north wall bears traces of it both inside and out. Elsewhere, however, the damage does not appear to have been serious. It apparently stopped against the north face of the wall with the gateway and it did not reach the southern and eastern parts of the building. Burning along the face of the straight joint at the west end of the plinthed wall shows that when the fire occurred there must have been an opening into Room D from the north between this straight joint and another some 4 ft. 10 ins. to the west of it.

REPAIRS AND RECONSTRUCTIONS followed the fire. Perhaps they were necessitated by it. The partition wall between Rooms D and E was rebuilt, leaving only a fragment of the old wall at either end. About 4 ft. from the north end of this wall a stokehole was built. Its jambs on the eastern side were worn by the action of shovelling. Room D, now used for stoking, must have ceased to be a hypocaust.

This new partition wall was thinner than the other walls of the bath building (1 ft. 8 ins. compared with 2 ft. 7 ins.) and, although of much the same type of construction, its joints showed a rather more lavish use of mortar. From the similarity in construction and breadth of wall it may be argued that about this time the little annexe F was added to the outside of Room B. It was apparently entered from the east (though this is by no means certain), had a mortar floor, and was a poor piece of work; but not so poor as a patch that was put in between the two straight joints of the north wall of Room D, for this contains little mortar and is a disreputable piece of masonry. Later than this patchwork, a wall no less than 5 ft. wide was built abutting

on the north side of the building. Only a few inches of it could be cleared, but it is obvious that by this time the simple rectangular bath building had grown into a more complicated structure.

THE COURTYARD. Adjacent to the south wall of Room B and partly underlying annexe F a broad rubbish pit had been dug into the clayey soil that here overlies the limestone. This pit contained a gratifying amount of pottery, bones, plaster, tesserae and glass, together with the usual black filth of an intensive occupation. It had been sealed by a spread of mortar varying from half-an-inch to an inch in thickness. South of it a yard roughly paved with pebbles and stones extended for at least 35 feet. 8 ft. 6 ins. below the level of this yard paving was the pure grey silt laid down by the stream that carved this little valley out of the limestone: its bed is now occupied by the sunken road leading up from the village to the holy well of Saint Michael.

The pottery from the rubbish pit was a sweep-up from a site long in occupation. There are a few sherds that will bear a Hadrianic date, and two may possibly be Trajanic. But until more ample evidence is forthcoming it would be unwise to place too much reliance on them. The *floruit* of the occupation was the latter part of the third century, and the pit contains no material later than the first half of the fourth century. To the east, the rubbish and its mortar cap had been covered by a later crude pavement constructed of flags, old tiles and building material, which sealed the rim of a typical Huntcliff store-jar and several other fragments of calcite-gritted ware. The boundaries of this pavement respected the limits of the bath building.

An even later stage in the history of the site is marked by two postholes, one in the limestone floor of Room A, and the other in the foundations of the east wall of the same room, complete with its packers. Unfortunately the burial of an animal here late in the nineteenth century destroyed all traces of the date and type of structure to which they had belonged.

The pottery and other finds are being reserved for final publication, but it is perhaps permissible at this point to give a tentative dating to the occupation of the site at Well, as suggested by the evidence that has been discovered up to the present.

It appears to have been occupied at least as early as the second century, and in the latter part of the third century this occupation had become intense. At a date which cannot yet be fixed a

rectangular bath house was built, incorporating materials from an earlier building that had possessed plastered walls and fine mosaic-work. Some of this material had been burned. The bath house in its turn suffered from fire; it was reconstructed and its internal arrangements were altered. A small annexe was added to its south side not earlier than the first half of the fourth century—perhaps during those same reconstructions that followed the fire. It is interesting to remember that the evidence from two other members of the little group of villas in western Yorkshire—Castle Dykes near North Stainley, and the Kirk Sink at Gargrave—points to a burning in the early fourth century. But the career of Well did not come to an end then; the only coin found during the 1938 excavations (unstratified) is of Constans, dated 341–5 A.D. by Mr. O’Neil; and the bath building was standing when the courtyard pavement to the south-east was repaired, not earlier than *c.* 370 A.D.

Much still remains to be done. Room E of the bath building has not been completely cleared, and it is not yet known what structures await discovery beneath the embankment of the mill stream to the north. Above all, the villa itself—if villa it be—remains to be found. In this connection the significance of the boundary wall at the south-west angle of the bath building cannot be overlooked, for it points straight towards the western boundary of the Mill End Garth, just beyond which, in 1858, a tessellated pavement was discovered in the grounds of Holly Hill.

[The Section, Reviews, Transactions, etc., of Yorkshire Societies, and Yorkshire Bibliography, is in charge of the Hon. Sec., E. W. CROSSLEY, Broad Carr, Holywell Green, Halifax, to whom all communications should be addressed. He will be glad to have his attention drawn to any items which may have been omitted.]

REVIEW.

Yorkshire's Ruined Abbeys. By B. Wade, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. With a Foreword by Dr. C. H. Moody, C.B.E., F.S.A. To which has been added a short Glossary of Architectural and Monastic Terms. London: Ed. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd., 1938. 6s. 6d.

Dr. Wade has rendered a useful service in bringing out this admirable little guide to the monastic ruins of Yorkshire. Such a work has long been desired. The writer has given a descriptive account of each ruin, together with a story history of the house. In addition to the valuable letterpress there are eleven plans of the principal houses, admirably chosen and up-to-date, together with an annotated plan of a Cistercian house. The illustrations include several half-tone reproductions from photographs, as well as numerous illustrations from drawings, together with 24 coats of arms of the principal houses. There is a useful list of the religious houses in the County appended, giving the rents and order of the house, and a County map, showing the position of each house, as well as a bibliography. The amateur will find the introduction and the architectural and monastic glossary of the greatest value in his study.

W.O.

TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The Georgian Society for East Yorkshire : Transactions, vol. i, part 1, contains—President's Report; Georgian England, by Viscount Esher; Burton Constable; Georgian Hull, by R. Alec-Smith. Houses and Buildings—Maisters House, 160, High Street, Hull; Trinity House Almshouses, Carr Lane, Hull; Willerby Hall; Paul Holme Tower; Haworth Hall (formerly Hull-bank Hall); Springfield House, Sutton on Hull; Baptist Chapel, Hedon; The Paddock, Hedon; The Elms, Roos; West Ella Hall. Report of Beverley section.

Halifax Antiquarian Society's Papers for 1938 contain—The Halifax Wool Trade and the Woolstapler, by T. W. Hanson;

Some Decadent Local Industries, by J. Walton; The Shibden Hall Muniments, by Muriel M. Green; Halifax Visitors' Book, vol. 2, 1751-1800, by W. B. Crump; The Little Hill Farm (Calder Valley), by W. B. Crump; Booth and Wormald, Rishworth, by J. H. Priestley.

Hull Museum Publications. No. 87—Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum of Fisheries and Shipping, Pickering Park, Hull (8th ed.), by T. Sheppard. No. 186—Wilberforce House, Hull (2nd ed.), by T. Sheppard. No. 195—Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in East Yorkshire, by T. Sheppard. No. 196—Records of Additions: Historical Documents relating to Hull and District, by T. S.; Roman Remains at North Ferriby, by T. Sheppard; An Early Game of Crown and Anchor (?), by T. S.; A Romano-British Interment with bucket and sceptres from Brough, E. Yorks., by P. Corder and I. A. Richmond; Petuaria, by P. Corder; Antiquarian Attractions of E. Yorks., by T. Sheppard. No. 197—Excavations at Eastburn, E. Yorks., by T. Sheppard. No. 198—The Roman and Saxon Site at Elmswell, E. Yorks., 1937, by A. L. Congreve. No. 199—Early Lighting Appliances, by T. Sheppard. No. 200—Catalogue of the Railway Museum (Paragon Station, Hull), by T. Sheppard. No. 201—Hull Museum and Advertising, by T. Sheppard.

The Hunter Archæological Society's Transactions, vol. v, part 2, contains—Shirecliffe Hall, by Mary Walton; Hallun-Sheffield, by F. Charlesworth; Various Accounts, 1749, by F. M. Owen; Sheffield Turnpikes in the Eighteenth Century, by A. W. Goodfellow; Pedigree of Northend of Northowram in the County of York, by W. F. Northend; A Sixteenth-Century Inventory of Barlborough Hall; List of Manorial Records relating to the neighbourhood of Sheffield in Repositories or Libraries other than the Sheffield City Libraries, by Mary Walton; Bronze Age Instruments found in Sheffield and District, by J. W. Baggailey; Notes on the Roman Pottery, etc., recently found at Templeborough, by F. Wakelin and Miss D. Green; Obituary, Reviews, Lectures, Excursions.

The Teesdale Record Society's Publications. No. 4 contains—Barnard Castle Register of Burials (Sexton's register), 1816-1848.

The Thoresby Society's Transactions, vol. xxxviii, contains—Extracts from the "Leeds Intelligencer" and the "Leeds Mercury," 1769-1776, by G. D. Lumb.

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC.

The Antiquaries' Journal, vol. xix, includes—Excavations at York Castle, 1935 (p. 85); Currency-bar in the North (Settle Museum) (p. 90).

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, Fifth Series, vol. x, includes—North Country Pedigrees: Wadsworth of Sheffield, Hussey of Attercliffe (p. 43); Pedigree of Smith of Bell House in Ecclesfield (p. 82).

The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Fourth Series, vol. viii, includes—Three Days' Outing in Yorkshire (pp. 174–186).

The Prehistoric Society's Proceedings, New Series, vol. iv, includes—Notes on Excavations at Loose Howe, by Dr. and Mrs. Elgee; of two barrows at Ampleforth, by G. F. Willmot (p. 318); of a barrow inside the camp at Boltby Scar, by G. F. Willmot; of a round barrow on Osborn Lodge Farm, Great Ayton, by T. L. Gwatkin (p. 319); of the promontory fort on Boltby Scar, by G. F. Willmot (p. 320).

The Journal of Roman Studies, vol. xxviii, includes—Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire, by P. Jacobsthal (p. 60); Notes on Excavation and investigations in connection with a possible branch of the Ilkley-Long Preston road leading to Ribbleshead, Dentedale, etc.; Excavations at Greetland, at Aldborough (p. 178), at Rudston, at Elmswell, at Brough on Humber (p. 179).

The Thoroton Society's Publications, vol. 41, includes—Tickhill Castle, by J. Holland Walker (p. 91).

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[*Note*.—Books and Pamphlets are included in this list which have been issued from 1 Jan., 1925. The compiler will be glad to hear of any which may have escaped his notice.]

The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York, 1258–1832, vol. ii; by A. Gooder; 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$; pp. xi + 203; The Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, vol. xcvi, 1938.

The Accounts of the Churchwardens, Constables, Overseers of the Poor and Overseers of the Highways of the Parish of Hooton

Pagnell, 1767–1820; edited by C. E. Whiting; $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. xiv + 141; The Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, vol. xcvii, 1938.

Yorkshire's Ruined Castles: an account of their History, Associations and Architecture, with a chapter on the Fortified Houses of the County; by John L. Illingworth; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$; pp. xiv + 184. London: Ed. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd. [1938].

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The Badge presented by the Harrogate Group, for
the use of the President of the Y.A.S.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

HARROGATE GROUP.

The Harrogate Group, feeling that the 75th anniversary of the foundation should have some permanent memorial, decided to present to the Yorkshire Archæological Society a Badge of Office for the use of the President.

This consists of the Seal of the Society in gold and enamel, having as a pendant a Bronze-age flint arrowhead found by Mr. B. W. J. Kent near Tatefield Hall.

In the absence of Mr. J. R. Ogden, the presentation was made to Mr. J. W. Walker by Mr. Herbert Chapman at the adjourned Annual Meeting of the Society at 10, Park Place, Leeds, on 28 April last.

Mr. Chapman referred to the President's devoted services to the Society for a period of over 55 years, and congratulated him on his restoration to health after his recent severe illness, assuring him also of the continued loyalty and support of the 300 members of the Harrogate Group.

Mr. Walker, on behalf of the Society, expressed their warm appreciation of the gift, and the personal satisfaction he would have as President in wearing the badge.

THE CHORLEY GIFT.

The Society's Library has been enriched through the gift by the representatives of our late member, Mr. H. S. Chorley, of some fifty to sixty volumes, largely architectural works, a branch of study in which it was not too strongly represented. Among the books are included Gotch's *Renaissance Architecture in England*, in two vols. (containing many magnificent plates of Domestic architecture of the Jacobean period, some of them of Yorkshire buildings); *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture*, by George Gilbert Scott; Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, three vols.; Architectural Drawings of Henry VII's Chapel, by L. N. Cottingham; *The Life and Works of Andrea Palladio*, by Banister F. Fletcher; Wheatley's edition of *Pepys' Diary*, ten vols.; and *Folk Lore of the Northern Counties of England*, by William Henderson.

Also about thirty O.S. maps and some plans, including two of Leeds.

The Library Committee is most grateful for these accessions.

TWO MEDIEVAL OBJECTS FROM YORK.

During the crisis of September, 1938, the A.R.P. trenches which were made in the Inner Moat of the York city walls at Lower Priory Street yielded much medieval material. Mr. N. Hudleston, of Skelton Manor, managed to retrieve several small objects, two of which, now in the writer's possession, are here-with illustrated.

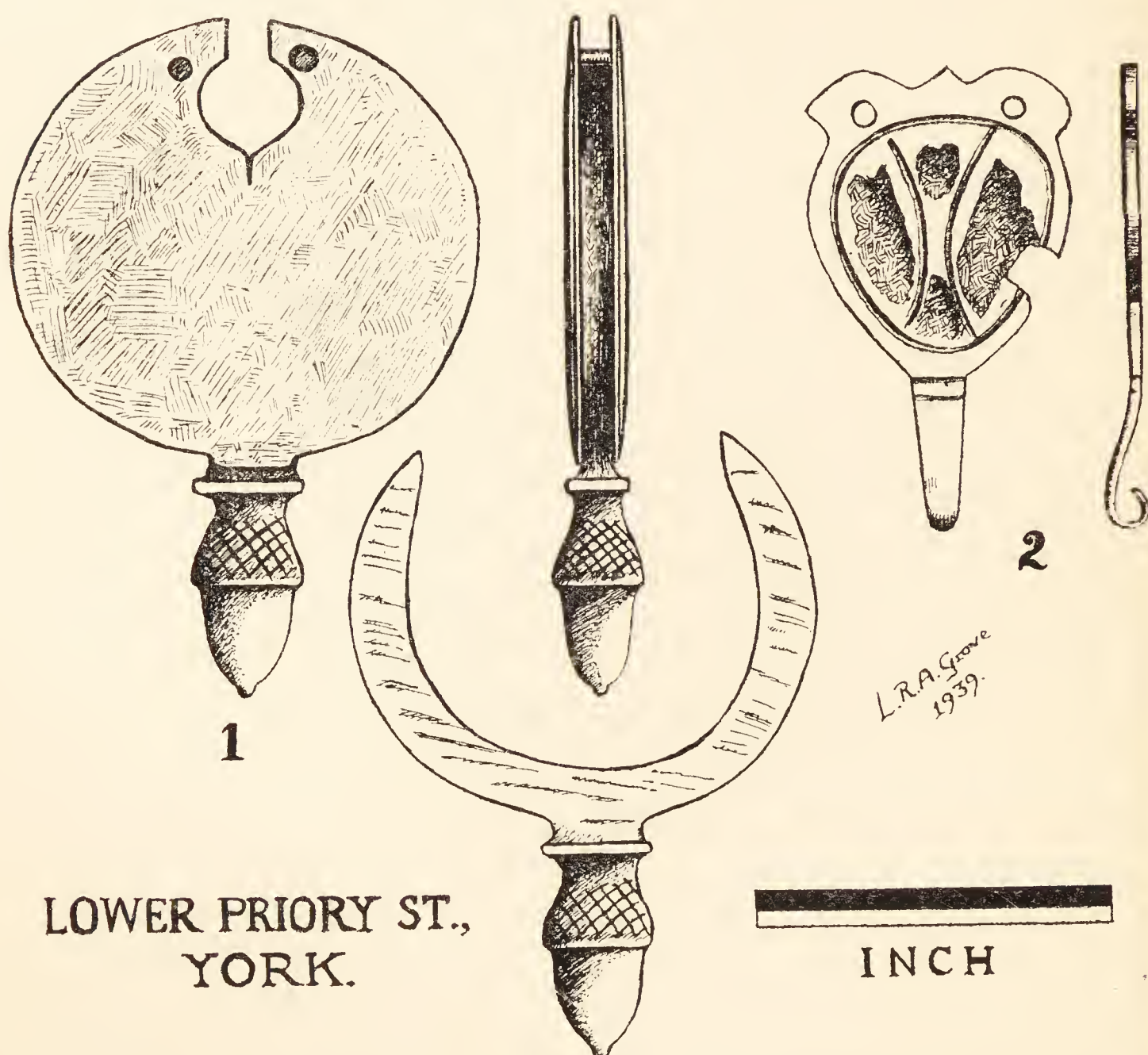


Figure 1 is of a bronze strap-end such as would be used on a sword belt. Medieval strap-ends are not often found, although they are frequently represented on brasses, tombs, and in illuminated manuscripts. The brasses, perhaps, show them in most detail. There may be instanced the brasses of Sir Robert de Setvans (1306) at Chartham, Kent; Sir John d'Aubernoun (1327); Sir Ralph Assheton (c. 1485) at Middleton, Lancashire; James Peckham (c. 1530) at Wrotham, Kent; and Peter Rede (1568) at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich.¹ On no representation has a parallel

¹Many examples on tombs are clearly shown in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*.

to the present example as yet been found. The acorn termination, however, may be paralleled. It, or a derivative, appears to be represented on the Sir Robert de Setvans brass (1306). It also occurs on strap-ends in the British and London Museums and on one Yorkshire example—from Fremington Hagg, near Reeth, Swaledale—in the Yorkshire Museum. The British Museum examples are useful for dating purposes as their decoration and lettering suggest for most of them a late fourteenth or a fifteenth century date. One acorn-terminating strap-end there has an engraved design which is almost classical in style and is to be dated probably to the beginning of the sixteenth century. This would agree well with some evidence for a vogue for the acorn as decoration during the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, manifested, amongst other things, in the acorn-knopped spoons, which are mentioned first in a will dated 1348.¹

The present strap-end when found still possessed some fragments of the leather strap around the two bronze rivets. The ease with which the fork-shaped portion of the strap-end may now be withdrawn from the covering case prompts the enquiry whether it was thus so as to enable the belt end to be more easily slipped through the buckle. There is a possibility, however, that the fork may have been soldered into the case, although no traces of solder remain. The fork has been filed down to make a good fit.

Figure 2 shows another object connected with medieval belts. It also is of bronze, much corroded in several places. The decoration consists solely of grooving on the upper surface.

Such hooks were commonly used to link into the suspension ring of the sword. A very clear illustration of this use is shown in the Royal manuscripts (E. ix, fol. 20) at the British Museum, dated about 1335–1340.² Another hook is shown in a portrait of Frederico da Montefeltro.³ In this picture Montefeltro is clad in a suit of armour of the Missaglia school. The hook is on a strap attaching the sword to the sword belt. The British Museum possesses similar examples, including one decorated with a letter “m” which is late medieval in form.

L. R. A. GROVE.

¹ *Catalogue of the Ellis Collection of Medieval Spoons*, p. 12 (Sotheby, 1935). In the will of Robert Usher de Estretford, 1392, there are mentioned “sex coclearia argentea cum acrinse (acorns) de auro” bequeathed to Robert Cave (*Test. Ebor.*, i, 177—Surtees Soc.). In 1459 Agnes Bedford, widow, of Kingston-on-Hull, bequeathed to Agnes Swan “dim. dos. cocliarium cum akehornes” (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, 235). See also Sir Charles J. Jackson’s article in *Archæologia*, liii, 121.

² Also illustrated in Laking’s *Record of European Armour and Arms*, ii, p. 60, fig. 414.

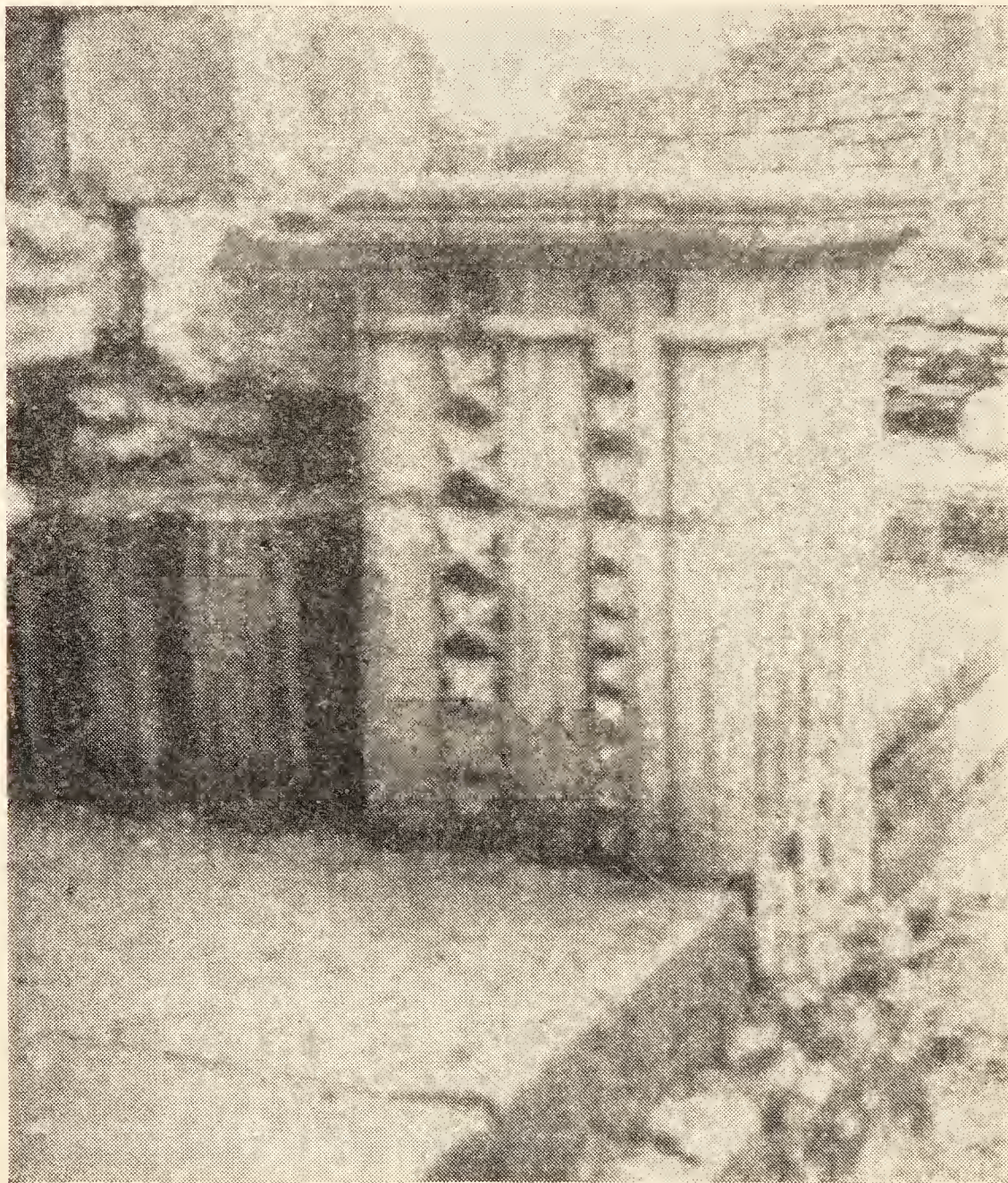
³ Laking: *Op. cit.*, i, p. 191, fig. 226.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF "DOG-TOOTH" ORNAMENT.

[Mr. Gerald Jack sends us the following note, with the illustration.]

I was interested to notice at Rievaulx Abbey the other day a perfect example of the evolution of the Early English "dog-tooth" ornament from the Norman "nail-head."

The illustration shows the southern support of the remains of an archway leading to the west door of the chapter house.



The approximate date is 1170, I believe, and it will be noticed that on the outside is a vertical row of "nail-heads," while parallel to it on the inner side is a row of "dog teeth." It is easy to see how the mason had merely to chip out a piece on each side of the "nail-head" to produce a "dog tooth," and it will be seen that the lower "dog teeth" are not nearly as perfect as the top ones, as if the mason had improved his technique as he worked upwards.

AN EARLY TESTAMENTARY RECORD.

In calendaring the Archer-Houblon collection of deeds in the possession of the Society our Record Clerk, Mr. W. Hebditch, came across the probate, with will annexed, dated Monday next after the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 Dec.), 1384, of Robert Gouk of Athelingflet (Adlingfleet). The probate, dated 31 Dec. 1385, was granted by the Rural Dean of Pontefract at Wakefield. The seal of the Rural Dean is still attached to the grant—a small pointed oval of dark green wax, the points of the oval broken. It bears an eagle rising, regardant. The legend is badly blurred and indecipherable.

The interest of these documents consists in their being earlier than any record at present known to exist of either the Exchequer or Prerogative Courts of York, the earliest registered will in which is both dated and proved in 1389. There are, however, in existence earlier documents relating to the Consistory Court. The grant of the probate at Wakefield is clear evidence that so far as the Exchequer Court was concerned—and it was in this Court that Gouk's will was proved—the usual practice was for them to be proved locally. This is amply confirmed by the form of later entries in the Act Books. E.W.C.

A NEW SAXTON ESTATE PLAN.

The centenary exhibition at the Public Record Office last autumn included two plans drawn by Christopher Saxton, showing certain fulling mills on Luddenden Brook, near Halifax. A description of these in the *Yorkshire Post* brought me news of yet another Saxton plan in a Wakefield office. It is a survey of the Snapethorpe Hall estate of the Pilkington family, on the western side of the city. The site is now largely covered with the Lupset housing estate of the Corporation.

The plan is on vellum and measures 28 ins. by 30 ins. Saxton's style is evident both in the double border, containing the cardinal points (in Latin), and in the pair of compasses spanning the scale of 64 perches. The title enclosed in an elaborate oblong frame reads:

A PLAT of Mr Pilkinton his landes, belonging to the old Haule, & new Haule, in the parish of Waikfeild, Made by Christofoer Saxton An^o 1601.

The flourishes below his name are in the manner of a scrivener's rubric, as if it were a signature. On the lower edge of the frame

are two circles with the capital letters R and S within them. These are the initials of Robert Saxton and imply that he assisted his father in the production of the plan. Below the panel on either side is a double circle. The one on the right is filled with an ornamental compass-dial. The other, within the border, shows a rustic in black and white motley, holding a scythe. This mower, as Mr. J. W. Walker tells me, is the ancient seal of the Pilkingtons and still figures as one of the crests of Sir Thomas Pilkington of Chevet Hall.

W. B. CRUMP.



Enlarged quarter of Christopher Saxton's Plan of the Snapethorpe Hall Estate, Wakefield (1601).

NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY DEANS OF YORK.

By C. T. CLAY, F.S.A.

At the close of a visit which I paid to Dr. William Farrer in the autumn of 1923, the year before his death, he gave me a manuscript which he said would be useful in dealing with the early documentary history of Yorkshire. He had compiled it largely for dating purposes in connection with his volumes of *Early Yorkshire Charters*; and as he had decided, irrevocably as he said, to discontinue their publication he had no further use for it.

The manuscript is entitled on its outside sheet "ECCLESIASTICAL DIGNITARIES: 12TH CENT." It contains a wealth of detailed information not available in print, at any rate in a collected form, and it would be difficult to exaggerate its usefulness in dealing with twelfth-century charters whose limits of date depend on the names of Yorkshire ecclesiastical dignitaries mentioned in them. The preparation of the manuscript illustrates the scholarly care which Farrer devoted to the dating and annotation of his texts.

Folios¹ 1-32 consist mainly of lists, accompanied by documentary references, of archbishops, deans, precentors, treasurers, and chancellors of York, of archdeacons of York (the West Riding), Richmond, the East Riding,² Cleveland, and Nottingham, together with notes of *inter alios* canons of York, Beverley and Ripon, archbishops' clerks, abbots of St. Mary's, and officials of the abbey, for the period between the conquest and the early years of the thirteenth century.

Folios 33-35, with some enclosures relating to Farrer's published *Outline Itinerary of King Henry I*,³ consist of dating materials, chiefly lists of bishops and abbots, for the early part of the twelfth century.

Folios 36-71 give fuller and revised lists for the same period covered by the lists on ff. 1-32, with additional documentary

¹ The foliation has been made by the present writer quite recently.

² The dignities of treasurer and archdeacon of the E.R. were held together until 1218.

³ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xxxiv (1919); subsequently issued as a separate publication.

references, of archbishops of York (f. 36), deans of York (ff. 37, 38), sub-deans (f. 39, almost blank),¹ archdeacons of York (the West Riding) (ff. 41–44), of Richmond (ff. 45–47), of the East Riding (ff. 48–50), of Cleveland (ff. 51, 52), and of Nottingham (ff. 53, 54), precentors of York (ff. 55, 56), treasurers (f. 57), chancellors (ff. 58, 59), provosts of Beverley (ff. 60, 61), and canons of St. Peter's (ff. 62–70).

The manuscript, even if confined to these revised lists, is certainly not ready for print; and it is clear that on several points Farrer had not arrived at his final decision. This is particularly evident in his lists of the archdeacons, which give rise to a number of difficult problems. It has been thought, therefore, that as an initial instalment an attempt might be made to consider the early deans of York, using the manuscript as a basis, and adding other details which have become available since Farrer compiled his lists. The task has been eased by the fact that a consolidated index to his three volumes of *Early Yorkshire Charters* has now been compiled in manuscript, which it is hoped may be available in print at no distant date.²

§2

The dignity of dean in the church of York, together with the dignities of treasurer and precentor, was instituted by archbishop Thomas I³ (1070–1100), who had previously been treasurer of Bayeux in Normandy. It has been stated that 1090 was the year when the deanery was instituted, and that archbishop Thomas appointed Hugh as the first dean.⁴

[?] ALDRED.

Aldred the dean appears as the first witness to a supposed confirmation by Thomas I, archbishop of York, of the privileges of the church of Durham, which if it were genuine would have been issued in the period 1083–85. This document has appeared in print several times, and is no. 926 in *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. ii. Farrer notes that its validity was condemned by Dr.

¹ The sub-deanery of York was not instituted before 1228 (*Reg. Romeyn*, ii, p. v).

² My thanks are due to the Rev. A. Raine for placing at my disposal some notes on the early deans of York, compiled by his father; to Miss Kathleen Major for some references to Roger de Insula while chancellor of Lincoln; and to Professor Hamilton Thompson and Mr.

L. C. Loyd for advice on particular points.

³ Hugh the Chantor in *Hist. Ch. York*, Rolls Ser., ii, 108. Cf. *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 376.

⁴ Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. Hardy), iii, 120. I have been unable to verify the references quoted; but all the evidence points to the fact that Hugh, who occurs as dean in 1093 (see below), was the first dean of York.

Greenwell as far back as 1872, and that the witnesses "were either non-existent or the contemporaries of a much later period."¹ There appears to be no satisfactory evidence that there ever was a dean of York named Aldred.

HUGH.

It is uncertain whether all the following references relate to the same man. The point will be considered below.

Hugh the dean, Ranulf the treasurer, Durand the archdeacon and Gill' the precentor, were among the dignitaries of the church of York who were present when archbishop Thomas I consecrated archbishop Anselm in December 1093.²

Hugh was dean in 1108, when he was at the king's court and requested that Thomas II should be made archbishop of York.³

Hugh, dean of York, witnessed a gift of King William II to archbishop Thomas I of the church of St. Stephen, York, in the period Dec. 1093–June 1095⁴; and Hugh the dean witnessed a confirmation by archbishop Thomas II to Selby abbey, 1113–14.⁵ Hugh the dean is mentioned in a precept of King Henry I relating to the tithes of Great Driffeld and of other royal demesnes in Yorkshire; and in another relating to the rights of St. Peter's, York.⁶ In the period 1119–35 Hugh the dean witnessed several of archbishop Thurstan's charters⁷; and, as dean of York, a charter of Bertram de Bulmer to St. Peter's hospital.⁸ As Hugh the dean he issued a charter bearing witness to an agreement between the abbot of Whitby and the prior of Bridlington, c. 1120–1129.⁹

Hugh, dean of York, with other dignitaries including William the treasurer, Hugh the archdeacon, and Serlo and William de Sancta Barbara, canons, accompanied archbishop Thurstan on his visit to the abbey of St. Mary, York, on 9 Oct. 1132, which led to the foundation of Fountains abbey.¹⁰ It was to the latter house that Hugh the dean retired; the date appears to have been while Richard, the first abbot, was overseas, and after the house

¹ *Op. cit.*, ii, 265.

² Hugh the Chantor in *Hist. Ch. York*, ii, 104.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, i, 267.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, no. 46.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, nos. 429, 430, both dated by Farrer as c. 1119–1129.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, no. 218, dated c. 1120–1135; i, no. 357, dated 1125–35; ii, no. 876, dated 1120–c. 1136; ii,

no. 936, dated c. 1121–1128; ii, no. 1151, dated c. 1125–1133; iii, no. 1367, dated c. 1130–1133. As H[ugh] the dean he was so addressed in a notification by archbishop Thurstan (*ibid.*, i, no. 144).

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 783, dated 1130–36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 874.

¹⁰ *Memorials of Fountains*, Surtees Soc., i, pp. xxviii, 24; cf. *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 134.

had been established for two years.¹ This suggests the year 1135.² It is recorded that Hugh had grown infirm. He is described as a man "magnarum rerum et multis operibus ampliatus . . . erat autem homo dives, non solum in pecunia numerata et mobilium possessione, sed et in libris scripturarum sanctarum, quos, sic Domino procurante, multis sibi sumptibus et studio comparaverat." His money was divided into three parts—one for the use of the poor, one for the fabric, and the remainder for the general purposes of the abbey; and he was the first founder of the abbey's library.³

In all these references there is no indication that there were two separate deans named Hugh. There is, for instance, no descriptive differentiation such as the use of the word *secundus*, which was employed to describe archbishop Thomas II,⁴ or in later days to describe Robert Butevilain, who became dean of York in 1158. A span of between forty and forty-five years would be an unusual term for the tenure of the deanery. But if Hugh became dean *c.* 1090, at the age of thirty, there is no insuperable difficulty in supposing that he was the same man who, as a result of the infirmities of age, retired to Fountains in 1135. Nor is there conclusive evidence of a dean of any other name who occurs during this period.⁵

WILLIAM DE SAINTE-BARBE.

Although Dec. 1138 appears to be the earliest definite date when William de Ste-Barbe occurs as dean of York, there is no

¹ *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 51, 52.

² The second anniversary of the foundation fell at Christmas 1134. It is probable that the determination to remain at Fountains, instead of migrating to Burgundy, was strongly influenced by Hugh's benefactions (see below); and the reception of Fountains into the Cistercian order was officially dated in Cistercian calendars as 1 Oct. 1135.

³ *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 52, 53. His interest in literature is shown in the letter addressed to him by Symeon of Durham on the subject of the early archbishops of York (*Hist. Ch. York*, ii, 256).

⁴ *E.g. E.Y.C.*, i, no. 43.

⁵ A possibility is Robert, dean of York, who witnessed a charter of Alan de Percy to Whitby abbey (*E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 860), if the date of that charter is *c.* 1125–1130; but

in that case there would have been three Roberts by the time that Robert Butevilain, described as *secundus*, became dean; and Farrer in his annotation contemplates the possibility that the charter was issued by Alan de Percy II, and that the date was therefore later—during the time when Robert de Gant was dean of York.

Another possibility is a certain William the dean, who with archbishop Thomas II occurs as a witness to a charter in favour of Selby abbey, 1109–12 (*ibid.*, i, no. 45). But Farrer points out that either William is an error for Hugh (who as dean witnessed the archbishop's confirmation of the same gift; *ibid.*, no. 46), or else we must read "arch-deacon" for "dean." The charter is not an original, and is only known from the chartulary text.

reason to suppose that he was not the immediate successor of Hugh on the latter's retirement to Fountains abbey.

As a canon [of York] William de Sancta Barbara was a witness to an agreement between Roger, abbot of Fécamp, and Robert, earl of Gloucester, in 1128; other witnesses including archbishop Thurstan, Thurstan, archdeacon [of Richmond], and four other canons.¹ As a canon he accompanied archbishop Thurstan, with Hugh the dean and other dignitaries, on the visit to St. Mary's abbey on 9 Oct. 1132, mentioned above. Without any style, described as William de Sancta Barba, he witnessed a charter of archbishop Thurstan, confirming gifts to the priory of Holy Trinity, York, of probable date *c.* 1121–1135.²

He had certainly become dean before Dec. 1138, when William, dean of York, is recorded as attending the synod at Westminster on behalf of archbishop Thurstan, who was then ill.³ As William the dean he was the first witness to a decree issued by archbishop Thurstan relating to the prebends of York⁴; and to his charter to Fountains abbey.⁵ He occurs as dean of York in charters in favour of Bridlington priory, issued when William, archdeacon [of the East Riding], was archbishop-elect⁶; and also in a charter issued by Adelwald, bishop of Carlisle.⁷

William, dean of York, was elected bishop of Durham on the Sunday in mid-Lent [14 March], 1143, and was consecrated on the following 20 June.⁸ He held the see until his death in 1152.

H.

Having regard to a certain H. the dean who with the chapter of York issued a charter of confirmation to St. Clement's priory, York, it must not be assumed that William de Ste-Barbe was immediately succeeded by Robert de Gant. This charter⁹ contains a reference which shows that it was issued after the death of archbishop Thurstan in 1140. It confirms the benefactions in detail which archbishop Thurstan had made to the priory¹⁰; and

¹ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1410.

² *E.Y.C.*, vi, no. 9.

³ *Chron. Richard of Hexham*, Rolls Ser., p. 173; John of Hexham in *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Ser., ii, 299.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 150, dated by Farrer 1137–40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, no. 62, dated 1139–40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, no. 152; ii, no. 1153, dated 1142–43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, no. 432, dated *c.* 1136–1142.

⁸ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Ser., i, 149, 150.

⁹ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 358, from *Mon. Ang.*, iv, 325, which gives the text of the original formerly in St. Mary's Tower.

From information kindly supplied by Mr. N. Denholm-Young no copy of the charter is known to be preserved among the Dodsworth MSS.; such a copy might have corroborated the correctness of the initial H; but there is no reason to suppose that the printed copy is not accurate.

¹⁰ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 357, to which Farrer assigns the date 1125–35.

as it mentions a tenant named in the archbishop's charter, who was still living, it cannot have been issued many years later—certainly not as late as 1186, when the next known dean with the initial H. occurs. Farrer assigns the date 1141–44. But as the dean at the time of archbishop Thurstan's death was William de Ste-Barbe, who held the deanery until 1143, that must be the earliest possible year. The latest possible year is 1147, when Robert de Gant occurs as dean. Farrer gives the extension H[ugo], probably based on the fact that Hugh the dean was a witness to the charter of archbishop Thurstan. But that must have been the earlier Hugh; and the extension is uncertain. The charter suggests, however, that a certain H. became dean in 1143 and held office to a date not later than 1147.¹

ROBERT DE GANT.

It is usually stated that Robert de Gant was a younger son of Gilbert de Gant, a tenant-in-chief at the Domesday survey, by his wife Alice de Montfort.² Canon Raine, commenting on this, says that the statement is without authority or probability.³ He does not give a reason for his doubt; and Dr. Farrer accepted the statement without question in his pedigree of the Gant family.⁴ It is certainly true that Walter de Gant, son of Gilbert, had a brother named Robert, who witnessed a notification of Walter to archbishop Thurstan in the period c. 1130–1139.⁵ But it would be satisfactory to obtain more precise evidence that this Robert was the future dean of York.

It has also been stated that Robert de Gant preceded Becket as provost of Beverley, before becoming dean of York.⁶ But Mr. Leach, who examined the evidence relating to the provosts with great care, was of the opinion that there was no provost named Robert before 1177, and that as Becket did not become provost until 1154 his immediate predecessor was certainly not Robert de Gant.⁷

¹ Farrer MS. has a reference to *Chartulary of St. Peter, Gloucester*, Rolls Ser., ii, 43, where the editor suggests that a document in which S. the dean and H[ugo] the treasurer of York occur is earlier than 1145. If so we have another dean about this period. But all the circumstances suggest that the document was issued in the time of Simon of Apulia, dean of York 1194–1214, and of Hamo the treasurer.

² Foss, *Judges of England*, i, 149,

who differentiates him from Robert de Gant, younger son of Walter son of Gilbert de Gant (and younger brother of Gilbert de Gant, earl of Lincoln). This younger Robert died in 1191.

³ *Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Soc., i, 155n.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, ii, 433.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1222.

⁶ Foss, *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, Surtees Soc., ii, pp. xi–xiii, cix. On

Robert de Gant was chancellor to King Stephen. When Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was arrested in June 1139 his son Roger the Poor was deprived of the chancellorship, and Philip de Harcourt was appointed to succeed him.¹ In the spring of 1140 Philip was nominated by the king to the see of Salisbury; but the chapter refused to accept him. In 1142 he became bishop of Bayeux. He was succeeded in the chancellorship by Robert de Gant either in the spring of 1140 or at a subsequent date not later than 1142; and of these two alternatives the former is the more likely.²

Certainly Robert de Gant held the office of chancellor before the end of 1142, as in that year Stephen's queen Maud confirmed a charter which Stephen had himself issued to the abbey of Clairmarais, and to which Robert *de Gandavo, cancellarius*, had been the first witness.³ As Robert de Gant, *cancellarius*, he was the first witness to a charter of King Stephen restoring to Robert, earl of Leicester, the town, castle and *comitatus* of Hereford.⁴ Professor Davis has shown that the extreme limits of date for this charter are 1140–45, and suggested the probable date of 1140. The charter is considered in the account of Robert, earl of Leicester, in the new edition of *The Complete Peerage*, where it is suggested that it was issued before 25 July 1141, when Miles of Gloucester was created earl of Hereford.⁵ There seems no

p. xii he says that Robert de Gant "almost certainly was not Provost. If he ever was, it was from 1132 to 1142," the latter date being based on the assumption that he became dean of York in that year. But Mr. Leach certainly supposed that Thurstan (not the archbishop) was provost from *c.* 1132 till his death in 1152 or 1153.

¹ For Philip de Harcourt see Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 47n; G. H. White in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., xvii, 30; and the references and notes given by Miss Lees in *Records of the Templars*, Brit. Academy, pp. xlvn, cxlvii, 227.

² See G. H. White for discussions of this point in *loc. cit.*, p. 33, and in an earlier paper in *ibid.*, xiii, 73. He points out that two of queen Maud's charters issued in 1141 during the king's captivity were witnessed by a certain Ralph the chancellor, and in his later paper suggested that he was not the king's chancellor, but her own. This suggestion is confirmed by a charter

printed by Miss Lees, which had been issued by the queen in the spring of 1137, and to which Ralph 'cancellarius meus' was a witness (*Records of the Templars*, p. 146). Ralph was therefore not an intervening king's chancellor between Philip de Harcourt and Robert de Gant; and it is likely that the R. *cancellarius* who witnessed the king's charter to Bordesley abbey in Dec. 1140 or Jan. 1141 (G. H. White in *loc. cit.*, xvii, 32) was Robert de Gant. In any case this latter charter is a proof, as Mr. White shows, that Philip de Harcourt did not retain the chancellorship until he became bishop of Bayeux. The combined evidence suggests that he surrendered the office when he was nominated to the see of Salisbury.

³ *Cal. Docs. France*, nos. 1353, 1354.

⁴ The text is pd. in full by H. W. C. Davis in *Essays in History presented to R. Lane Poole*, p. 173.

⁵ Vol. vii, p. 528n, where the earliest limit of date is given as

reasonable doubt that Robert de Gant was the Robert *cancellarius* who witnessed three confirmations of King Stephen in favour of the Templars, probably issued in Dec. 1141 and in 1142.¹

As *cancellarius* R. de Gant was the fourth witness to a charter issued by King Stephen at Bury St. Edmund's in favour of Lilleshall abbey.² The approximate date of this charter, 1144-45, is proved by the first witness Imarus, bishop of Tusculum and legate. This was Imar the cardinal-legate who received his commission from pope Lucius II, and appears to have arrived in England in 1144, and whose mission certainly did not last later than the early months of 1145.³

Robert de Gant held the chancellorship at least as late as the spring of 1154, when Hugh du Puiset returned to England after having been consecrated bishop of Durham at Rome on the preceding 20 December; for Robert de Gant, *cancellarius*, witnessed a writ of King Stephen in favour of the church of Lincoln, to which Hugh, bishop of Durham, was the first witness.⁴

The deduction from these references, taken as a whole, is that Robert de Gant held the office of chancellor to King Stephen

1139-40, as William, earl of Lincoln, was one of the witnesses. But, as Robert de Gant was chancellor, 1140 must be taken as the earliest limit. In *ibid.*, p. 666, reference is again made to the charter, where it is stated that it was probably issued in 1140, though a later date is regarded as possible if the earl of Lincoln was not William d'Aubigny, but William de Roumare.

¹ *Records of the Templars*, pp. 148, 219-21.

² *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 263. The second witness was R. bishop of Hereford; this was bishop Robert (1131-48). The third witness was Rotrou, bishop of Evreux, who held that see from 1139 to 1165; *Eboracensi* in the pd. text is obviously an error for *Ebroicensi*. The first lay witness was earl W. de Warrenna; this was William, third earl, who was slain in the crusade in Jan. 1147-8.

³ Under the year 1146 [*recte* 1145] John of Hexham says: "Hicmarus episcopus Cardinalis directus ab Apostolico Lucio legatus venit in Angliam, habens pallium Willelmo archiepiscopo destinatum" (*Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Ser., ii, 317). Canon Raine, commenting on this

passage, quotes authority for saying that the legate came to England in 1144 and was recalled by pope Lucius II for service in France (*Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Soc., i, 149n). This date was accepted by Miss Norgate in *England under the Anjevin Kings*, i, 364, who quotes from St. Bernard's letters relating to the mission. It is, however, possible that the legate stayed in England until the news of the death of pope Lucius II on 15 Feb. 1145 reached this country. As legate he heard a suit between bishop Ascelin and the monks of Rochester; and it is recorded that a few days later he was recalled by the Roman curia (Thorpe, *Reg. Roffense*, pp. 41, 42). In an incidental reference R. L. Poole suggests that he had come to England at the beginning of 1145 (*Studies in Chronology and History*, p. 296). In any event the extreme limits of his presence in England, and consequently the limits of date of King Stephen's charter, are March 1144, when Lucius II became pope, to March 1145.

⁴ *Reg. Antiquissimum*, Lincoln Rec. Soc., i, 58.

from 1140 to 1154; and it is clear that, as he could not have become dean of York before 1143, he was given the deanery *after* and not *before* he had been appointed chancellor.

If, as has been suggested above, a certain H. became dean of York in succession to William de Ste-Barbe, Robert de Gant cannot have become dean until a year or two later. But he was certainly dean on 24 July 1147, for John of Hexham, describing the proceedings of the election of an archbishop of York to supersede William Fitzherbert, which took place on that day at the priory of St. Martin, Richmond, records that "Rodbertus enim de Gant, cancellarius regis et decanus, et Hugo Putheacensis, nepos regis et thesaurarius,¹ quos Willelmus archiepiscopus promoverat ad honores in ecclesia Eboracensi, et pars cum eis," wished to elect master Hilary, apostolic clerk; but Henry Murdac, supported by the rival party, was preferred by the pope; and Hilary was consecrated bishop of Chichester.²

Robert de Gant was the R. dean of York addressed by archbishop Henry in a charter in favour of Whitby abbey, 1149-53³; and so addressed in a letter of Adelwald, bishop of Carlisle, in 1153-54⁴; and as Ro[bertus] in a notification by archbishop William after his restoration.⁵ As Robert de Gaunt, dean of York, he was the first witness to a charter of Agnes Fossard to the priory of St. Clement, York⁶; and as Robert, dean of York, he witnessed a charter of G[ilbert] de Gant, earl of Lincoln, to Bardney abbey, of which the extreme limits of date are 1147-56.⁷

With Osbert the archdeacon Robert, dean of York, met archbishop William outside the gates of York in a hostile spirit in April 1154, when the archbishop returned to the city after his restoration⁸; and after the archbishop's death in June was instrumental in procuring the election of Roger de Pont-l'Evêque as his successor.⁹

It has been supposed that Robert de Gant died in 1154.¹⁰

¹ Hugh du Puiset, afterwards bishop of Durham.

² *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Ser., ii, 320-1.

³ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 878.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1474.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, no. 155; the date, assigned to 1153-54, may perhaps be restricted to April-June 1154, after the abp. had returned to York, and before his death. Cf. also *ibid.*, iii, no. 1476.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1037; the date, c. 1148-1154, is perhaps due to

Farrer's supposition that Robert de Gant died in the latter year.

⁷ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1327-41, p. 235.

⁸ *William of Newburgh*, Rolls Ser., p. 80.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-2.

¹⁰ Farrer supposed this was so in *E.Y.C.*, ii, 205; Foss, *Judges of England*, i, 149, quoting Stapleton, *Holy Trinity Priory*, p. 110, says that "he was succeeded in the deanery in 1153, which was doubtless the date of his death." Stapleton gives no authority, and certainly Robert de Gant was alive later than that year.

Certainly he was no longer chancellor when King Henry II appointed Becket to that office early in 1155, probably shortly after his coronation on 19 Dec. 1154. In the circumstances a change of chancellor was almost inevitable; and it does not prove that Robert de Gant was then dead. There is no evidence to suppose that he did not live and retain the deanery of York until shortly before Robert Butevilain became dean early in 1158. If a charter could be found which could definitely be limited to the period 1154–58, in which a Robert occurs as dean of York, it would be almost conclusive in proving this suggestion; for such a Robert must be Robert de Gant, as otherwise Robert Butevilain would have been described, not as Robert *secundus*, but as Robert *tertius*. In charters issued by archbishop Roger in the early years of his tenure of the see, in which Robert the dean is mentioned, there is no evidence to say that the latest limit of any of them is 1158, and that therefore the dean was not Robert Butevilain.¹ But an instrument of pope Adrian IV on behalf of the hospital of St. Peter, York, addressed to R. the dean and the chapter of York, was issued at the Lateran on 14 kal. Feb. with no year mentioned²; and comparing this with a confirmation by the same pope of various gifts made to the hospital, which was issued at the Lateran on 14 kal. Feb. 1156 [1156–7],³ it is difficult to suppose that the two instruments were not drawn up on the same day. If so we have definite evidence that the dean of York on 19 Jan. 1157 was R.; and if it may be assumed that this stands for Robert⁴ he can be no other than Robert de Gant, for the reason given above. It seems likely, therefore, that Robert de Gant was still dean at the beginning of 1157, and that the date of his death can be assigned to the period 1157–58.

ROBERT BUTEVILAIN.

It is probable that Robert Butevilain was a member of the

¹ *E.g.* *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 674, date 1154–64; no. 880, date 1154–60; no. 1053, date 1154–63.

² *Ibid.*, i, no. 187, which Farrer dates as “probably 1157.” This document is not included by Dr. Holtzmann in his *Papsturkunden in England*, although he prints nos. 186 and 188, assigning the year 1157 to the latter, which was issued by the pope in favour of the hospital on 13 kal., no year given (*op. cit.*, nos. 64, 65).

³ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 186.

⁴ To this it may be opposed that R. stands for Radulfus, and that the dean was Ralph, dean of York, who is given as a witness to a charter of Hugh Malebisse to Rievaulx abbey in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 74; but Farrer, printing the charter in *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1830, and assigning the date 1154–60, gives good evidence for supposing that *decano* is an error for *archidiacono*, and that the witness was Ralph Baro, archdeacon of York. There appears to be no good evidence for any twelfth-century dean of York named Ralph.

family of Butevilain of Cottesbrook, co. Northampton. Farrer has given an account of the early generations of this family in his notes on the honour of Wahull,¹ showing that in the time of Henry I Robert Botevileyn held two hides in Cottesbrook of the fee of Wahull, and is mentioned on the Pipe Roll of 1130 in connection with Northamptonshire and Norfolk. William Boutevileyn, apparently his successor, was the first founder of Pipewell abbey in the reign of Stephen²; and Robert his son³ had succeeded before 1166, when he held two fees of Walter de Wahull and three fees of Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk. Later evidence shows that part of the latter holding lay in Flordon, Norfolk, and Flixton, Suffolk.⁴

If Robert Butevilain, dean of York, was a member of this family it is probable on chronological grounds that he was of the same generation as the founder of Pipewell, whose younger brother he may have been, and so the uncle of Robert Butevilain, the tenant of Cottesbrook in 1166.⁵

The date of his accession to the deanery can be approximately ascertained from a document issued by archbishop Roger and Robert "secundus," dean of York, in which it appears that Robert was archdeacon on 13 Dec. 1157 and had become dean of York before 6 May 1158.⁶ As master Robert Butevillanus, archdeacon of the church of York, he had witnessed a charter of archbishop Henry in the period 1149–53⁷; and as archdeacon [presumably of York], but without the style of *magister*, a charter to Rufford abbey drawn up in the presence of archbishop Henry (1147–53).⁸

King Henry II issued a notification from Rouen, stating that Robert Botevilein, dean of York, had never taken an oath to

¹ *Honors and Knights' Fees*, i, 80–1. An account of the family, which descended in the male line to the middle of the fifteenth century, is given in Bridges, *Northamptonshire*, i, 553; see also Blomefield, *Norfolk* (1739 and 1769 ed.), i, 113; iii, 47.

² *Mon. Ang.*, v, 436.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Farrer, *loc. cit.*; for Flordon see Blomefield, *op. cit.*, iii, 47.

⁵ The dean certainly had a nephew named Robert, who with Thomas his brother, were fellow-witnesses with their uncle to a charter of the period 1175–86 (*E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1809). But they are not given with any surname, and may perhaps have

been sons of a sister of the dean. The name Robert constantly occurs in the Butevilain pedigree. A later Sir Robert Butevilain presented Robert Butevilain, clerk, to the church of Cottesbrook in 1220 (Bridges, *op. cit.*, p. 555).

⁶ *Chartulary of St. Peter, Gloucester*, ii, 106–7. It was this reference which Farrer found after the compilation of his MS., where he adds it as a footnote, altering the date when Butevilain became dean from 1154 to 1158.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 67; *cf.* iii, no. 1471, of date 1147–50.

⁸ F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, no. 367; *cf.* *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 71, of date 1150–53.

the king's mother or to him, nor had the king nominated him [to the deanery], but that he had the king's affection, and he and all his goods were in the king's protection, and he was the king's own clerk.¹

Butevilain remained dean of York until his death in July 1186.² During his tenure of the deanery his name frequently occurs in charters—sometimes as Robert Butevilain, dean of York³; sometimes as Robert *secundus*, dean of York⁴; and sometimes merely as Robert, dean of York, or Robert the dean.⁵

HUBERT WALTER.

After the death of Robert Butevilain in July 1186 the king gave the deanery to Hubert Walter, a clerk of Ranulf de Glanville.⁶ He retained the deanery until he was given the bishopric of Salisbury on 16 Sept. 1189.⁷ He was subsequently archbishop of Canterbury from 1193 until his death in 1205.

Before he became dean of York Hubert Walter was a baron of the exchequer in 1184,⁸ and was present in the king's court at Westminster in 1185.⁹ As H., dean of York, he was present in the king's court at Westminster on 24 April 1189,¹⁰ and also in June.¹¹ As Hubert Walter, dean of York, he and master Bartholomew, his official, were the first two witnesses to a charter issued to Fountains abbey.¹² In Sept. 1186, shortly after he became dean, he was one of the five named by the canons of York for appointment as archbishop of York; but the king rejected them all.¹³

HENRY MARSHAL.

Henry Marshal, described as brother of William Marshal,¹⁴ was appointed dean of York at the council held at Pipewell

¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 140, where the date assigned by Farrer is 1155–62; but for reasons given above the earlier limit must be put at 1158.

² *Roger of Howden*, Rolls Ser., ii, 310, stating that his death took place in 1186 while the king was at Carlisle. This was in the early part of July (*Eyton, Itinerary of Henry II*, p. 269).

³ *E.g.* *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1809.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, no. 119; ii, nos. 684, 716, 840, 901.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, nos. 69, 159; ii, no. 978.

⁶ *Howden*, ii, 310. Hubert's mother, Maud de Valognes, was a sister of Bertha wife of Ranulf de Glanville (*D.N.B.*, s.n. Hubert).

⁷ *Howden*, iii, 15; and *cf.* this date below.

⁸ Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, i, 216n.

⁹ Madox, *Formulare*, p. 217.

¹⁰ *Pedes Finium*, Pipe Roll Soc., xvii, 3.

¹¹ *Fountains Chartulary* (ed. Lancaster), i, 23.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 352.

¹³ *Benedict of Peterborough*, Rolls Ser., i, 352; the other four being Hamo the precentor, master Laurence, archdeacon of Bedford, Bernard, prior of Newburgh, and master Roger Arundel.

¹⁴ Born c. 1146; died 1219; warrior, statesman, earl of Pembroke and regent of England (*D.N.B.*, s.n. William Marshal).

abbey on 16 Sept. 1189.¹ He was the youngest of the four sons of John Marshal by his second wife Sibyl, sister of Patrick, earl of Salisbury.² The appointment was one of those which incurred the displeasure of Geoffrey, the king's brother, archbishop-elect of York.³ Henry was ordained sub-deacon and deacon on the same day shortly afterwards.⁴ When he came to York he was installed by Hamo the precentor as a canon only, for the view held by the chapter was that no-one except the archbishop ought to install him as dean.⁵ The archbishop-elect, on his arrival in York, also refused to install him until his own election was confirmed by the pope.⁶ On 5 December Henry and the newly-appointed treasurer of York, Buchard du Puiset, were among those who appealed to the pope against the election of archbishop Geoffrey; but this was confirmed by the papal legate.⁷ On the following day Geoffrey, at the king's request, confirmed their offices to the dean and treasurer.⁸ The reconciliation was, however, short-lived; and Howden gives an account of the disgraceful scenes which took place in the Minster on 5 January 1190 and the following day, when the dean and treasurer were at open discord with the archbishop-elect, who excommunicated them.⁹

As H., dean of York, he was the first-named of a group of justices who visited Yorkshire and Cumberland in 1192.¹⁰ Described as Henry, dean of York, he was present at York with his fellow-justices in Aug. 1192.¹¹ As H. the dean he issued with the chapter of York a charter to Newburgh priory relating to land in Hooton Pagnell.¹²

¹ *Howden*, iii, 16; cf. L. Landon, *Itinerary of Richard I*, Pipe Roll Soc., p. 7.

² *D.N.B.*, s.n. John Marshal. John Marshal died in 1164.

³ *Howden*, iii, 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31; see the account in Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.*, p. 258. On the whole question of the troubles between archbishop Geoffrey and the chapter of York see Stubbs, *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series*, pp. 267 *et seq.*

¹⁰ *Pipe Roll*, 5 Ric. 1, pp. 70, 77; and introd., p. xxiv.

¹¹ *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 137; cf. *E.Y.C.*, iv, no. 98, and *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 554. As H. dean of York

see similarly *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 1205, and *Kirkstall Coucher*, Thoresby Soc., p. 5, dated in July and Aug. 1192 respectively.

¹² *E.Y.C.*, vi, no. 135, where the date 1189-94 is assigned, and the possibility is envisaged that it might have been issued early in 1189 (from which year Roger, abbot of Selby, the first witness, held office) and that the dean was Hubert Walter. But according to Howden (*ut sup.*) Roger was given the abbacy of Selby on the same day as Hubert Walter was given the bishopric of Salisbury and Henry Marshal was given the deanery of York. This suggests that the H. of the charter must be Henry and not Hubert, though it is possible that it was Roger's previous election as abbot which was confirmed by the king at Pipewell.

While King Richard was in captivity in the year 1193 he made several ecclesiastical appointments, including the gift of the bishopric of Exeter to Henry Marshal, dean of York,¹ who is described as bishop-elect of Exeter on 10 Feb. 1194,² in the month before the king's return. He was consecrated before 30 March,³ and held the see until his death in 1206.

SIMON OF APULIA.

Howden records that after the election of Henry Marshal to the see of Exeter, archbishop Geoffrey, then at Ripon, gave the deanery to Peter his brother⁴; but because Peter was then at Paris, and the king at once requested that the archbishop should give the deanery to John, provost of Douai, the brother of the advocate of Béthune, the archbishop gave it to Simon of Apulia, his clerk, and so freed himself from the king's request; later, when the archbishop wished to cancel the appointment, saying that he had only given the deanery to Simon to hold it in custody on Peter's behalf, the canons of York elected Simon against the archbishop's wish; whereupon the archbishop, to please the king, gave the deanery to master Philip,⁵ king's clerk, and discord between the archbishop and his canons ensued; Simon then crossed the sea to the king in Germany, who was also visited by the archbishop's messengers on their way to Rome, and the king forbade either side to appeal to the pope.⁶ In Jan. 1194 four of the dignitaries of the church of York visited the king, who gave them permission to proceed to Rome, where the pope conferred the deanery on Simon, waiving the question of whether the archbishop had the right to nominate or the chapter to elect.⁷ During that year Simon was in Rome, and shortly before Michaelmas there returned to York Hamo the precentor, Geoffrey de Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, and master William Testard, archdeacon of Nottingham, who had accompanied Simon to Rome, together with Ralph, archdeacon of the West Riding, who died on the return journey. They had appealed to the pope against the archbishop on account of the injuries done to the chapter,

¹ *Howden*, iii, 221.

² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁴ Stubbs, *Historical Introductions* , p. 276, says that Peter was probably, as he is not called son of King Henry II, the son of the archbishop's mother by one of her other lovers.

⁵ Philip of Poitou, afterwards bishop of Durham.

⁶ *Howden*, iii, 221-3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30. On 31 May 1194 the pope referred to Simon as dean in a letter relating to the disputes (*ibid.*, p. 285). His letter to Simon himself, saying that he had invested him, is dated 17 May (*Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 92).

and brought back letters of absolution on its behalf.¹ Simon himself appears to have returned to York in February 1195, and after further discord was received by the canons as dean on 12 February, the bishop of Durham three days later confirming the excommunication against the dean's assailants.²

At Michaelmas 1195, master Simon of Apulia, dean of York, was owing 180*li.* out of an original sum of 666*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, *i.e.* 1,000 marks, for his "donum."³ It is evident that the payment was to ensure royal approval of his position. He had paid the balance by the following Michaelmas.⁴

Although Howden describes Simon as a clerk of archbishop Geoffrey when he was given the deanery, he had filled the office of chancellor of York. As master Simon of Apulia, chancellor of York, he was the first witness, preceding Geoffrey de Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, to a charter of Geoffrey, archbishop-elect, confirming the chapelry of Blyth to Rouen cathedral, and issued in 1189.⁵ In 1191 he was so named by the papal commissioners who decided in his favour a dispute with Ralph, archdeacon of York, when it was laid down that the chancellorship was the third dignity in the church of York.⁶ As chancellor he also witnessed a confirmation charter of archbishop Geoffrey to Sulby abbey.⁷

Simon retained the deanery of York until his election to the see of Exeter in 1214. This was earlier than 13 April 1214, when the king gave the deanery of York to Bartholomew, archdeacon of Winchester, nephew of Peter des Roches.⁸ Simon was consecrated bishop of Exeter on 5 Oct. 1214 and died on 9 Sept. 1223.⁹

WILLIAM TESTARD.

It is evident that the gift of the deanery to Bartholomew, archdeacon of Winchester, in April 1214, was not effective; and he continued to hold his archdeaconry for several years.¹⁰ On 20 Sept. 1214 the king nominated master W., archdeacon of Nottingham, for election to the deanery of York,¹¹ and on 29 Oct. gave his assent to the election of master William Testard, arch-

¹ *Howden*, iii, 272-3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 283-4.

³ *Pipe Roll*, 7 *Ric. I*, pp. 92-3; and *cf.* introd., p. xxviii.

⁴ *Chancellor's Roll*, 8 *Ric. I*, p. 178.

⁵ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 48.

⁶ *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 91.

⁷ *Reg. Romeyn*, i, 227. See also another charter of abp. Geoffrey in

Selby Coucher, no. 975; and also *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 345; ii, no. 842.

⁸ *Rot. Pat.*, p. 113b.

⁹ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Ang.*, 2nd ed., p. 54.

¹⁰ Bartholomew occurs as archdeacon of Winchester in 1221 (Cotton MS. Claudius B. iii, f. 81), and in 1223 (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 383).

¹¹ *Rot. Claus.*, i, 202b.

deacon of Nottingham, by reason of the archbishopric of York being vacant and in the king's hand.¹

Testard had held the archdeaconry of Nottingham for a considerable period from a date not earlier than *c.* Nov. 1187.² The notes given below show that he cannot have held the deanery for as much as three and a half years.

There is a difficult entry³ which purports to be a letter from the king, directed to the chapter of York in June 1215, forbidding any of the members to elect S., dean of York, to the archbishopric. This cannot refer to Simon of Apulia, who was by that time bishop of Exeter. It certainly refers to Simon Langton, a canon of York (whom the chapter had then selected as a rival to the king's nominee, Walter de Gray⁴); and it can only be supposed that the word *decanus* in the entry is a mistake.⁵

HAMO.

Before becoming dean, Hamo had filled the offices of precentor and treasurer in the church of York. He appears to have become precentor about 1180 or perhaps slightly earlier.⁶ The details given above show that he was precentor in 1186, when he was one of the five named by the canons of York for appointment as archbishop, and in 1189, when he installed Henry Marshal as a canon. He occurs as precentor in 1195.⁷

In September 1189, as precentor, he refused to install Bucharth du Puiset as treasurer, saying that archbishop Roger had given him the treasurership and that King Henry had confirmed the gift.⁸ But he did not obtain it for several years. He appears to have become treasurer in succession to master Eustace, the king's seal-bearer, who as the king's vice-chancellor was given the

¹ *Rot. Pat.*, p. 123a.

² At that date Robert son of William son of Ralph occurs as archdeacon of Nottingham (*Salter, Oxford Charters*, no. 40). Testard occurs as archdeacon of Nottingham in 1194 (*Howden*, iii, 272). His successor in that office was mag. W[illiam] de Bodeham, who was holding it in May 1221 (Cotton MS. Claudius B. iii, f. 22d), and in 1231 (*Reg. Gray*, p. 44).

³ *Rot. Chart.*, p. 207b.

⁴ See *D.N.B.*, s.n. Simon Langton; and *cf.* Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.*, p. 282. Simon was a brother of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury.

⁵ Simon is described as a canon of York in a letter from the pope to the chapter of York in Sept. 1215 (*Rot. Claus.*, i, 269a).

⁶ His predecessor William d'Eu, who held the office for a long period, occurs as precentor *c.* 1170–1177 (*E.Y.C.*, i, no. 584). Hamo was precentor when archbishop Roger issued his ordination of his chapel of St. Mary and the Angels (*Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 77), and had therefore become precentor by 1181 at the latest.

⁷ *Howden*, iii, 294.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii, 18. Abp. Roger had died in 1181.

bishopric of Ely in 1197 and was consecrated on 8 March 1198.¹ Hamo occurs as treasurer in 1199, when he had been succeeded as precentor by Reginald [Arundel],² and he is evidently the master H., treasurer of York, to whom the king addressed letters patent on 28 July 1215.³ He became dean between that date and 1 March 1217 [1217–8], when as dean he witnessed a charter.⁴

As dean he witnessed the ordinance of archbishop Gray separating the treasurership of York and the archdeaconry of the East Riding,⁵ which was confirmed by pope Honorius III on 31 August 1218⁶; in this ordinance there is reference to a house which Hamo the dean had inhabited before he became treasurer. He occurs as H., dean of York, on 24 August 1219,⁷ and it seems probable that he died as dean within the ensuing few months.⁸

ROGER DE INSULA.

Roger de Insula, previously chancellor of Lincoln, became dean before Midsummer 1220, when as dean of York he issued an ordinance making an arrangement with Rievaulx abbey on the subject of tithes.⁹ As mag. Roger de Insula, chancellor of Lincoln, he had witnessed an ordinance of archbishop Gray to which Hamo, dean of York, was also a witness¹⁰; and as Roger the chancellor he witnessed Lincoln documents at various dates in the period February 1214 to Easter 1220.¹¹ He occurs as dean of York in 1230,¹² and is stated to have died in 1235.¹³

§3

Excluding the H., dean of York, who appears to have succeeded Ste-Barbe, and for whom there is only one piece of documentary

¹ *Ibid.*, iv, 21. Master Eustace had only become treasurer in 1196 on the death of Buchard du Puiset (*ibid.*, iv, 14).

² *Ibid.*, iv, 98. Hamo the treasurer and Reginald the precentor occur together in a document dated in the same year, 1199 (*Finchale Chartulary*, Surtees Soc., p. 13).

³ *Rot. Pat.*, p. 151a. If, as Farrer supposed, he is the H. the archdeacon who occurs on 13 Sept. 1216 (*ibid.*, p. 182a), he was then still treasurer, with which dignity the archdeaconry of the East Riding was then united.

⁴ *Reg. Gray*, p. 132.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133n.

⁷ *Percy Chartulary*, Surtees Soc., no. 100.

⁸ The extreme limits of his tenure

of the deanery are July 1215 to Midsummer 1220. A charter of abp. Gray to Nostell priory, witnessed by Hamo the dean (*Reg. Gray*, p. 128), therefore falls within these limits.

⁹ *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 364, from *Reg. Mag. Alb.*, f. 14.

¹⁰ *Reg. Gray*, p. 133.

¹¹ *Lib. Ant. Hugonis Wells*, pp. 72, 100; *Reg. Antiquissimum*, Linc. Rec. Soc., ii, 80, 288. He appears to have succeeded William de Montibus as chancellor in 1213 (*ibid.*, iv, 204). He is probably the mag. R. de Insula, canon of York, who witnessed a charter to St. Peter's hospital, York, in the period 1215–20 (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1257–1300, p. 442).

¹² *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 141.

¹³ Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. Hardy), iii, 121.

evidence, there were ten holders of the deanery during the period 1093–1235. Butevilain was dean for twenty-eight years (1158–1186); Simon of Apulia for twenty (1194–1214); and it seems probable that Hugh, the first dean, held the office for over forty. Four of them became bishops—Ste-Barbe becoming bishop of Durham, Hubert Walter of Salisbury, and Henry Marshal and Simon of Apulia both of Exeter. Hugh, the first dean, retired in old age, and the remainder appear to have died in office.

Of those who had previously held offices in the church and diocese of York, Ste-Barbe had held a canonry, Butevilain was archdeacon of York, Simon of Apulia was chancellor, Testard was archdeacon of Nottingham, Hamo successively precentor and treasurer, and Roger de Insula appears to have held a canonry in addition to his chancellorship of Lincoln. Robert de Gant was the king's chancellor when he was appointed dean of York, and Hubert Walter was a justice both before and during his tenure of the office. Henry Marshal, whose appointment was evidently due to family influence, was not ordained sub-deacon and deacon until after his nomination by Richard I. He also was a justice during his tenure of the deanery.

The details recorded in these notes suggest the following tentative list:

HUGH. Earlier than 1093, to 1135.

WILLIAM DE STE-BARBE. c. 1135 to 1143.

H. [?] 1143, to not later than 1147.

ROBERT DE GANT. 1147 or earlier, to [?] 1157–58.

ROBERT BUTEVILAIN. 1158 to July 1186.

HUBERT WALTER. July 1186 to 16 Sept. 1189.

HENRY MARSHAL. 16 Sept. 1189 to 1193–94.

SIMON OF APULIA. 1194 to 1214.

WILLIAM TESTARD. Oct. 1214, to not later than Feb. 1218.

HAMO. 1215–18, to not later than June 1220.

ROGER DE INSULA. 1219–20, to 1235.

SEDITION AND CONSPIRACY IN YORKSHIRE DURING THE LATER YEARS OF HENRY VIII.

By A. G. DICKENS.

It has been too commonly assumed that a period of quiet in northern history succeeded the collapse of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The great upheaval was inevitably followed by lesser repercussions: a rising which had come so near success, and to the failure of which deception had so largely contributed, could not but leave hopes of ultimate retribution. The virtues of resolute conciliar government had not yet come to temper the fears aroused by the royal policy, to abolish seignorial liberties and to slacken the grip of the old families upon the popular mind. In Yorkshire, that central region of unrest, widespread discontent and antagonism simmered continuously after the revolt, culminated in the West Riding Plot of 1541, and subsided temporarily after the King's visit in the late summer of that year. A survey of Yorkshire reaction throughout the last decade of Henry VIII's reign must be based upon the Domestic State Papers, and from these we first select a few cases illustrating the position during the two years immediately following the Pilgrimage.

Dr. Dakyn, rector of Kirkby Ravensworth and vicar-general of the York diocese, was examined by the Privy Council about March 1537 and claimed that since the revolt he had exhorted the people of Richmond to accept the royal supremacy only at the risk of his life.¹ A month or two later the Duke of Norfolk found it necessary to attend in person the suppression of Bridlington and Jervaulx, because, as he explained to the King, the neighbouring country was populous and the houses greatly beloved by the people.²

Cases of verbal treason continued fairly numerous. On 2 December 1537 parishioners of Muston made grave charges before the President and Council in the North against their vicar, John Dobson. For a year and a quarter he had not prayed for the King. Only on 25 November, and as a result of remonstrances,

¹ *L. & P.*, xii (1), 786 (14).

² *Ibid.*, 1172 (1), 1192. He had, from Doncaster in February, reported the continuance of sedition, but thought he could trust the nobles and substantial yeomen (*Ibid.*, 318).

had he set forth the royal supremacy.¹ Moreover he had said, both in the church porch and in the alehouse at Muston, that the King would be driven out of his realm and then return and be content with a third part thereof. Expounding the symbolism of certain popular prophecies and rhymes,² Dobson had predicted that the Emperor (the Eagle) would hold suzerainty over the kingdom and that the Bishop of Rome (the Dun Cow) would return and "set the Church again in the right faith." He had quoted the popular rhyme regarding the fall of Cromwell, and the prophecy that "the moon shall kindle again, and take light of the sun, meaning by the moon the blood of the Perceis."³ Dobson was again charged with being in possession of a book of these prophecies and confessed to borrowing copies from Prior Borobie of the White Friars of Scarborough, during the Pilgrimage of Grace. Borobie and others were also examined and gave numerous details regarding the dissemination of the prophecies.⁴ These latter activities had, however, taken place before and during the rising, and enquiry only showed the impossibility of tracing them to their source. On 18 December the Northern Council, having apparently given up the attempt, simply reported the case to the King. Charges were then being preferred only by three of Dobson's parishioners, the rest declaring him the victim of malicious accusations. Even witnesses cited by the accusers denied that the prophecies were declared in the church porch and alehouse.⁵ Here, nevertheless, we seem to find an instance of parishioners combining to shield a popular but guilty priest, since Dobson was finally found guilty of treason and executed.⁶

Early in 1538 John Ainsworth, a Lancashire priest with a Cambridge degree, nailed a sermon on the door of St. John's, Ousebridge, York. It contained matter against the royal supremacy and the Act of Succession, "and in the end manifest and frantic ribaldry." When examined, Ainsworth steadfastly denied the legitimacy of the Divorce, and was executed along with Dobson.⁷

Along with them at the York assizes the Holderness woman

¹ Clear orders to this effect had been issued in June 1535 (*Ibid.*, viii, 854).

² Cf. the references given in M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy*, i, 82 *seqq.*

³ *L. & P.*, xii (2), 1212 (i). Prophecies concerning the Lumleys and Dacres are also mentioned. Cf. *ibid.*, xii (1), 318 (2) and xii (2), 1231.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xii (2), 1212, ii-viii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xii (2), 1231.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xiii (1), 705.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xiii (1), 533, 705. The former reference yields many details of his earlier life.

Mabel Brigge was also condemned to death. Her case illustrates the popular hatred to which the royal policy had given rise. In January and February 1538 elaborate examinations made of people from Welwick, Holmpton, Hollym and neighbouring places revealed that Brigge had recently undertaken a ritual fast with the intention of injuring the King and the Duke of Norfolk. A widow of 32 and servant to William Fisher, a husbandman, she had fasted on numerous days until mass was over and had said that she had essayed this "St. Trynzan's fast" only once before, and that the victim had broken his neck before the conclusion of her ritual. The same fate, she trusted, would befall the King and the Duke. Brigge had stated that she was hired for the purpose by Isabel, wife of William Bucke of Holmpton, and that all Holderness was bound to pray for them. Her examination also seemed to implicate her confessor, one Thomas Marshall, the chantry priest at Holmpton. He, like Isabel Bucke, denied the charge when examined. Ralph Bell, vicar of Hollym, confirmed the reports of Brigge's treasonable conduct, having heard them under seal of confession.¹ In April the Council in the North reported to the King that Brigge had been executed along with Dobson and Ainsworth. Isabel Bucke had been found guilty of treason, but reprieved till the King's pleasure should be known. The reasons for this reprieve were, it was written, to be duly explained to the King. They have not survived. The husband William Bucke and the chantry priest Thomas Marshall had been found guilty of misprision of treason for concealing the black fast,² but regarding the ultimate fate of these last three offenders we are again left in doubt.

It seems likely that Mabel Brigge's evident ambition to figure as a popular heroine was in part fulfilled. In the following June one William Wood of Bransdale in the parish of Kirkby Moorside reported a conversation in church between the parish priest of "Coken Kirk,"³ Robert Kirby, and his parish clerk, Robert Lyon. The clerk, having heard a report of the King's death, had hailed it as the answer to Mabel Brigge's prayers. The priest had said that vengeance must light on the King, who had put so many men wrongfully to death. The clerk had replied that "if

¹ *Ibid.*, 487. These examinations contain other details of local interest. They contain little to justify the doubt cast on the episode in Dodds, *op. cit.*, ii, 301.

² *Ibid.*, 705.

³ The chapel of Cockayne, in the gift of the vicar of Kirkby Moorside (*Victoria Co. Hist., Yorks., North Riding*, i, 516).

Cromwell were dead also, it were not one halfpenny worth of matter," while the priest thought that if one of the King's recent victims "might have had a switch at the King's neck a twelve-month before this business began" his soul would have been in small peril for the deed. The informer Wood claimed to have reminded the speakers at this juncture that men had been executed in the south country for saying less. The priest then menaced Wood: "If thou rehearse aught that we have said before any man, knight or justice, I will have a leg or an arm of thee before thou come there." Kirby and Lyon later became apprehensive of the consequences, the former expressing the wish that Wood could be sworn to secrecy and the latter attempting to placate him in traditional manner: "William, tarry and drink or thou go." But Wood, ignoring the offer, went away to York and reported the occurrences to Archdeacon Magnus, a member of the King's Council in the North.¹ Other councillors twice examined Wood, sending full particulars to their President, Bishop Tunstall, then in London.² Though William Wood, as an appended autobiography³ shows, was a rolling stone and had quarrelled with the Lyon family, his story was consistent and extremely circumstantial, citing other witnesses of the conversation. Unfortunately, we have here another of those anecdotes the outcome of which eludes us.

We need scarcely apologise for recounting such cases. However trivial in themselves, they are not without value if we would estimate the trend of popular opinion in Yorkshire after the Pilgrimage. For every case of treasonable speaking and activities reported by informers and preserved in the state papers, there must have been scores which never found their way to the ears of authority. An obscure paper⁴ provides one of our most intimate snatches of the conversation current in Yorkshire during those years.

Richard Oversole of Northallerton, a tiler aged seventeen, left his Yorkshire home for the first time in November 1538 to visit his aunt at Dover. On the way he lodged with Robert Kowe, a palemaker, of Key Street near Sittingbourne. Conversation took place the next day as Richard went with his host towards Canterbury.

"... The seyd Richard sayth that he havynge comynycacyon

¹ Cf. R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 490.

² *L. & P.*, xiii (1), 1282, 1350 (i).

³ *Ibid.*, 1350 (ii).

⁴ *P.R.O.*, S.P. i, 140, pp. 33-4. Cf. *L. & P.*, xiii (2), 996.

with the seyde Robert sayde yf the comens that were late rebelles in the north had com furth in their purposed jurney the lord Cromwell wold have fled the land. And that wordes were there sayde by so meny that he can not tell their names. And the seyde Rychard sayth that he sayde to the seyde Robert that one of the Percys was gone into Scottland and all other were then dede.¹ And yf any thyng happened to the Kyng but good, the seyde Percy wold be next to the crowne. Robert Kowe of Caystrete besyde Cheson Wode, palemaker, sayth that Rychard Oversole, beyng at the house of the seyde Robert for his there loggynge on fryday the vygill of Seynt Andrewe last past, as the seyde Robert and Rychard were comyng fro Kaystrete to Caunterbury, the seyde Rychard sayde that all the Percys were ded except one and he wold cause England to shyne as bryght as seynt George and that the Scottes Kyng wold be Duke of Yorke, and the Kyng our soveraigne lorde and the lord Cromwell wold fle the land, and showed to the seyde Robert not at what tyme."

It will be remarked that the element of prophecy and magic stands out as common to almost all these cases. Students whose view of popular resistance to the Reformation is based upon the stories of the Elizabethan recusants² will find here much to surprise them. In these years, 1537 to 1541, we remain as yet far behind the age of the Counter Reformation, when opposition to the civil power rests upon a basis of reasoned argument. The intellectual background, even that of the common people, was to be transformed by the advent of the seminary priests nearly half a century later.

That the failure of the Pilgrimage had not exorcised from the popular mind the motive of rebellion is indicated by the particulars of the West Riding conspiracy of 1541, a movement which has not yet been investigated with the attention its importance demands. No modern historian has accorded it more than cursory mention, apart from Gairdner, who in calendaring much

¹ The reference is to Sir Ingram Percy, sole surviving brother and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, who had died in June 1537. Sir Thomas Percy had been attainted and executed and the Percy lands surrendered to the Crown. The Percy interest, comprising a powerful knot of Yorkshire families, had been of primary importance in the Pilgrimage of Grace (*cf.* Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-65). It should be recalled that in this period the strongest connections and richest lands of the Percys were not on the Borders, but in Yorkshire (*cf.*, for example, the rent roll printed in Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii, 582).

² The writer has particularly in mind the Yorkshire material printed in H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, iii, and in J. Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, iii.

of the relevant material in volume xvi of the *Letters and Papers*, included an extremely brief account in his introduction.¹ For the sixteenth-century chroniclers, Hall provided the basic account:

“ In the beginnyng of this yere, v. priestes in Yorke shire began a new rebellion, with thassent of one Leigh a gentleman, and ix temporall men, whiche were apprehended, & shortly after in diverse places put in execucion, in somuche that on the xvii² daie of Maie, the said Leigh & one Tatersall, and Thornton, wer drawen through London to Tiborne, and there wer executed. And sir Ihon Neuell Knight, was executed for the same at Yorke.”³

Stow⁴ and Holinshed⁵ add very little to this account. Wriothesley⁶ adds a few details, which will be noticed in their place. Fortunately a considerable number of state papers, mainly either dispatches from the Imperial and French ambassadors, Chapuys and Marillac, or bills of expenses incurred in connection with the plot, enable us greatly to amplify the meagre narratives of the chroniclers.

Contemporaries give divergent estimates of the total number of the conspirators. Chapuys, in providing our most informative general account of the plot, says that there were forty or fifty conspirators, “ nearly twelve ” of whom were gentlemen, men of substance and mature age, or beneficed priests along with over three hundred servants and retainers.⁷ Earlier, Chapuys had mentioned fifty persons, six or seven of whom were priests.⁸ Marillac at first mentions eighty or a hundred gentlemen and priests,⁹ a seemingly unacceptable figure, and later gives merely eighty or a hundred *persons*.¹⁰ It will be in due course observed that about twenty-five conspirators were actually captured,

¹ Pp. xxxiii–iv.

² An error for xxvii. Cf. below, p. 394.

³ Grafton's edn. of Hall (1548), fo. ccxliiii.

⁴ *Summarie* (1565), fo. 199v; *Chronicles* (1580), p. 1020.

⁵ *Chronicles* (1587), iii, 953.

⁶ *Chronicles* (Camden Soc., second series, xi), i, 124–5.

⁷ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁹ Kaulek, *Correspondance Politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac, 1537–1542*, p. 295.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297. Richard Hilles, writing in the following September to Henry Bullinger from Frankfurt, spoke of “ about twenty persons, of whom about twelve had formerly been monks ” (*Zurich Letters*, i, 219–20). The number twenty is obviously too small and the attribution to ex-monks, with one exception, unconfirmed.

but Marillac plainly implies that the greater number escaped.¹ It remains unfruitful to speculate regarding the number of people more or less implicated, for the secret could be none too closely guarded. The government subsequently made prolonged and probably not very successful attempts to trace the local ramifications.² In view of the ambitious plans of the conspirators it seems likely that a considerable number of people had actually engaged to assist.

Of the persons implicated, Sir John Nevile of Chevet was by far the most important. The third son of Sir John Nevile of Liversedge,³ he had obtained Chevet sometime before 1508 by marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Bosvile of Chevet. His accounts for the rebuilding of the house there—a process lasting from 1508 to 1529—are extant and amongst the most interesting of their kind.⁴ The marriages of his daughters were attended by lavish feasting and display, and Nevile, with obvious pride, kept detailed accounts of the expenses,⁵ as also of those connected with the office of High Sheriff of Yorkshire, which he occupied in 1519, 1524 and 1528.⁶

Meanwhile he had been noted by Wolsey's commissioners as an enclosing landlord: "Johannes Nevyle miles apud Cheyte in dicto westriding inclusit in uno parco pro feris nutriendis certas terras per quod unum messuagium et unum aratrum prosternuntur et quattuor persone ab inhabitationibus suis recesserunt."⁷ As one would expect, Nevile was particularly active during the monastic dissolutions. Between 1536 and 1539 he wrote several letters to Thomas Cromwell supplicating for grants of monastic properties, especially those of Monk Bretton, Guisborough, Nostell and Selby.⁸ His sister Margaret, wife of

¹ Cf. below, p. 392.

² Cf. below, p. 396.

³ For pedigrees see Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, 393; Surtees Soc., xxxvi, 170; J. Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, ii; *Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. Foster, p. 340. Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis* (ed. Whitaker, 1816), pp. 184-5, contains additional matter, but should be used with caution. Nevile of Chevet must not be confused with Sir John Nevile of Snape, fourth Lord Latimer, who died in 1545.

⁴ *Y.A.J.*, xxxii, 326-30, prints these. Cf. Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 394-5, and on various land transactions *Y.A.S. Record Series*, ii, 42, 66-8.

⁵ Printed in S. Pegge, *The Forme of Cury* (1780), pp. 163-85, and in J. Croft, *Excerpta Antiqua* (1797), pp. 78-91.

⁶ Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 393; J. Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, ii.

⁷ *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (new series), vii, 242. Cf. his mention of "the paile aboute his parke" (Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 395).

⁸ *Yorks. Monasteries Suppression Papers* (Yorks. Archæol. Soc., Record Ser., xlviii), pp. 26-7, 60-62, 65, 71-2, 74-5. Cf. J. W. Walker, *Monk Bretton Priory* (Yorks. Archæol. Soc., Extra Ser., v), p. 58.

Christopher Stapleton of Wighill,¹ became notorious as an active supporter of the Pilgrimage of Grace,² but Nevile himself remained in that small group of Yorkshire gentry who contrived to avoid complicity. In May 1537 he sat on juries for the trial of the northern rebels,³ and about the same time told Cromwell that the people were rejoiced at the report that the King and Cromwell were coming north.⁴ He was appointed steward of Lord Darcy's lands after the attainder of that nobleman.⁵ In 1539 he appears as one of the King's bodyguard⁶ and received payments from the King in 1540–41.⁷

On the eve of his fall Nevile proudly compiled some notices of his building achievements at Chevet and elsewhere. "And all this I have done within theis xxiiii yeares, Lord, I thanke hym of his goodnes; and at this present daye, which ys the xxviiiith day of November in the xxxiind yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne lord kynge Henrye the eighte, owes never a penye to anye man lyvinge for the said howse or howses, or any parcell belonginge thearunto."⁸ Altogether it would be difficult to exemplify more admirably the type of "new man" taking advantage of modern opportunities and policies to rise in the world. It seems, to say the least, ironical that a career so constantly marked by cautious self-interest should end in execution for treason. But a sentence in a despatch of Marillac to his master Francis I does much to clear up the seeming improbability. Nevile probably suffered, not for active complicity, but for his foolish concealment of the plot, which one of the conspirators had revealed to him.⁹ Suspicion apparently also fell on Nevile's wife Elizabeth and on his son Henry, since they were brought to London on the discovery of the plot¹⁰ and in the following

¹ *Visitations of 1584–5 and 1612*, ed. Foster, p. 333.

² Dodds, *op. cit.*, i, 146–8; ii, 216.

³ *L. & P.*, xii (1), 1199 (4), 1227 (2).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1317.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii (1), 646 (51).

⁶ *Ibid.*, xiv (2), 783. He had been with Henry at Guynes (Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 395) and was well known at court (*cf.* below, note 9).

⁷ *L. & P.*, xvi, 380 (fos. 110, 125b), 1489 (fo. 167).

⁸ Hunter, *loc. cit.*

⁹ "Sire, quant la comtesse de Salbery (Salisbury) fut decapitée, l'on prononça sur le champ la sentence de mort à ung maistre Menel (a copyist's misspelling) gentilhomme assez congneu en ceste court et de médiocre faculté (ability, talent, wit) lequel pour avoir sceu la conspiration qui se faisoit naguères au Nor, qu'ung des conjurés luy avoit descouverte, et n'en avoir révélé aucune chose, a esté mené audit pays pour estre exécuté sur les lieux" (Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 315).

¹⁰ *L. & P.*, xvi, 1489 (fo. 189b). *Cf.* the indenture mentioned in *ibid.*, 1050.

June received pardons.¹ Ultimately Henry Nevile's rights were fully restored by special act of parliament.²

William Legh of Middleton was also a man of family³ and substance, holding the manors of Middleton, Rothwell and Rhodes,⁴ besides numerous other lands in Yorkshire and Cheshire,⁵ and considerable goods and chattels. Much is known of his lands and property from a very extensive series of deeds, receipts and inventories preserved amongst the state papers after his attainder.⁶ Quite the most remarkable of these documents is a detailed inventory of the contents of Legh's houses,⁷ which deserves to be printed, if only as a fascinating document of social history. His father, Roger, had married the daughter of John Nevile of Cudworth, and he was thus a distant kinsman of Sir John Nevile. He is probably to be identified with the "William Ligh" in receipt of an annuity from Croxton Abbey⁸—an interesting connection, as will subsequently appear. Though Hall records only his "assent" to the plot, Legh was nevertheless imprisoned from 20 April to 9 May at Sheriff Hutton, and later in York Castle,⁹ before being haled to London for execution. His servant Thomas Crofte was committed to the Davy Hall gaol in York by the Council in the North¹⁰ and afterwards sent for some unspecified purpose from York to Leeds.¹¹

A conspirator called Robert Boxe is also spoken of as a gentleman.¹² He was imprisoned along with other plotters at York and Sheriff Hutton,¹³ and though he does not appear in the lists of

¹ *Ibid.*, 947 (74).

² 5 & 6 Edw. VI, cap. 29. Cf. also on Henry Nevile (Y.A.S., Record Series, ii, 109; Y.A.J., xxxii, 330; J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters of Yorkshire History*, p. 151.

³ *Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. Foster, p. 45. His brother Sir John and his son Gilbert are both noted here as attainted. A note in P.R.O. Aug. Off. Misc. Books 171, fo. 34, shows his sons Gilbert and Richard surrendering their father's valuables to the Council at York (1 June 1541).

⁴ *L. & P.*, xvi, 883. ⁵ Thoresby, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

⁶ Aug. Off. Misc. Books 171, fos. 2-43, *passim*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fos. 2-13.

⁸ *L. & P.*, xvi, 92 (p. 29).

⁹ P.R.O., S.P. i, 166, fos. 17, 30. These and many similar details we learn from the series of bills of expenses connected with the plot. These are fortunately preserved in *ibid.*, fos. 14-32, and in Aug. Off. Misc. Books 171, fos. 47, 49. They are calendared in *L. & P.*, xvi, 875, but it will be necessary to give the original references below.

¹⁰ S.P. i, 166, fo. 14.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 16.

¹² *Ibid.*, fos. 14, 30 ("Mr. Box"). The present writer has discovered no pedigree, though the name was apparently common in the Doncaster region (cf. *Doncaster Records*, ii, 81, 114, etc.; but no Robert Boxe appears).

¹³ S.P. i, 166, fos. 14, 17.

those executed, he may well have suffered the extreme penalty.¹ Thomas Tattershall, "a cloath man of that countrey,"² is referred to as "*Mr. Tattersall*"³ and was clearly a man of property. His wife asked £10 11s. allowance for rents of her farms due at Pentecost after her husband's attainder,⁴ and they also possessed some plate.⁵ Having been attached by the under-sheriff at Wakefield, Tattershall was taken to York and imprisoned in the Castle.⁶ Shortly afterwards he was sent to London, confined in the Tower, and executed at Tyburn on May 27.⁷ In connection with Tattershall we may recall that the West Riding clothiers, annoyed by industrial legislation, had enthusiastically joined the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁸ The presence of this discontented class probably encouraged the conspirators to count upon the support of such towns as Wakefield and Pontefract.

Of the other laymen concerned we know comparatively little. Gilbert Thornton, "a yeoman of the same partes," was imprisoned in York Castle and executed along with Legh and Tattershall at Tyburn.⁹ James Dymond may perhaps be identified with "one Diamond of Wakefeld, a poor man" who had "devised the policy for going over waters" when the Pilgrims were on the Don.¹⁰ If the identification be correct, Dymond did not escape retribution for his second share in rebellion, since after seven weeks' imprisonment he was hanged and quartered at York.¹¹ William Cokeson and his servant Brown, evidently of Wakefield, were taken to York in connection with the plot.¹² Oswald Gryce, probably a relative of the two priests of that name whom we shall shortly encounter, was searched for at Wakefield and sent to York.¹³ John Kent was imprisoned in York Castle.¹⁴ William Barker of Chevet, possibly one of Nevile's tenants, was taken into custody and apparently brought to London. In the following June he was nevertheless granted a pardon along with Nevile's wife and son.¹⁵ A certain Leonard Bates was sent to York,¹⁶ while

¹ Cf. below, p. 395.

² Wriothlesley, *op. cit.*, i, 124.

³ S.P. i, 166, fo. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 31.

⁵ Aug. Off. Misc. Books 171, fos. 16, 17, 29, 30.

⁶ S.P. i, 166, fos. 29-30.

⁷ Wriothlesley, *loc. cit.*, and the other chroniclers above-mentioned.

⁸ Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9, gives the main references.

⁹ Wriothlesley, *loc. cit.*; S.P. i, 166, fo. 30. His house had been searched "with sex men" (*ibid.*, fo. 29).

¹⁰ *L. & P.*, xii (1), 946 (p. 431).

¹¹ S.P. i, 166, fo. 20.

¹² *Ibid.*, fos. 25, 26.

¹³ S.P. i, 166, fo. 29.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 24; *L. & P.*, xvi, 1489 (fo. 190); *Ibid.*, 947 (74).

¹⁶ S.P. i, 166, fo. 26.

men named Smallpage and Smith occur along with William Barker in a manner indicating that they were also prisoners.¹ The wife of one Ridge was taken to York along with Mrs. Tattershall and Mrs. Kent²; her husband was probably one of those who escaped on the disclosure of the plot.³ This list exhausts the known lay conspirators and suspects, but the notable part taken in the rising by priests remains to be considered.

The main group of clergy occurring in the state papers may be identified, by reference to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, as chantry priests of the Wakefield district. William Green, who was imprisoned at Sheriff Hutton from 16 April to 9 May, and later in York Castle,⁴ was incumbent of the chantry of St. Mary in the north part of Rothwell church.⁵ William Brumfeld *alias* Bromhede was priest of St. Mary's chantry at Middleton in Rothwell parish,⁶ and hence closely connected with William Legh. Along with those of others,⁷ his rooms were carefully inventoried, and a detailed list of his domestic properties is preserved.⁸ William

¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 24.

² *Ibid.*, fos. 21, 26.

³ *Cf.* below, p. 392.

⁴ S.P. i, 166, fos. 17, 30.

⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (below cited as *V.E.*), v, 75. He was very possibly the William Grene, chaplain, in receipt of an annuity from Croxton (*L. & P.* xvi, 92, p. 28). One Thomas Gren, priest, was summoned by letter in connection with the plot (S.P. i, 166, fo. 24).

⁶ *V.E.*, v, 76.

⁷ "Item for the takyng of the inventoryes of the prestes chambers at Wakefeld & other therijs. viiij*d.*
Item to the undersheriffe for his costes att Wakefeld at the prayse of the goodes of the said persons and diverse onest men with hym, ij dayesixs. viiij*d.*" (S.P. i, 166, fo. 25).

⁸ Aug. Off. Misc. Books, 171, fo. 51. It seems by no means irrelevant to print this intimate list in full—

"The Inventorye of Sir William Bromheds chambre taken by Jamys Corkar and William Watson and prased by Edmund Parkar, Robarte Burton, John Horton and John Thackwra.

The plac wher he lay.

First in the wyndowe in money	xiiij <i>d.</i>
Item a feder bedde, a bolster and a pillawe, iij blankets, ij coverlets, a pare of shetys, a coveryng of verders	vs. xd.
Item a litle counter with a pounce of waxe in it, one olde typet of clothe and the letters of his ordres	xij <i>d.</i>
Item one litle copborde with a pare of harden shetys and a towell	xvj <i>d.</i>
Item a greter copborde (xviij <i>d.</i>) with a gowne of (vs.) clothe and a clocke (viij <i>d.</i>), a say doblet (viij <i>d.</i>), a nolde chamlet (iiiij <i>d.</i>) gerkyn and a typet of say (vj <i>d.</i>)	viijs. viij <i>d.</i>
Item the portar [porture] hangyd a bowte with payntede clothes	viiij <i>d.</i>
Item a chare and a quyshing	vj <i>d.</i>
Item a tristell and one other chare	vj <i>d.</i>
Item one lode of coles by estymation	vj <i>d.</i>

The chambre.

Item a mattres, a coverlet and chare	ijs.
Item ij tristiles, a forme, a shete with a quarteron of woll by estimacion, and a quishing	xvj <i>d.</i>
Summa	xxiijs."

Swynden, one of the four chantry priests of the Sotehill foundation at Wakefield,¹ was searched for in that town, captured and sent to York.² There he was executed along with James Dymond and John Dixon.³ This last was in 1535 one of the six chaplains in the college of the Trinity at Pontefract.⁴ Watch had been kept for him in Wakefield for two days prior to his arrest there.⁵ John Gryce, another priest taken at Wakefield, was confined in York Castle,⁶ while his apparent kinsman Gregory Gryce, also taken at Wakefield, may be the incumbent of that name who held the free chapel of Thirsk in 1535.⁷ Errors regarding christian names are common in Tudor records, and in two of these cases they may have hindered our task of identification. The priest Robert Holdyne or Howden, who occurs amongst the prisoners at Sheriff Hutton and York,⁸ may perhaps be the same as, or connected with, the Thomas Holden repeatedly appearing as a chantry priest at Rotherham.⁹ It seems still more tempting to connect the "Sir Robert Burton" in the bills of expenses¹⁰ with the Thomas Burton whom we see in the *Valor* as chaplain at Pontefract along with John Dixon.¹¹

Two priests outside this class also became involved. The bills of expenses show that the "Condam of Crokstone" (also spelt "Croxston") was taken in custody to Pontefract, and that his servant was detained for two days.¹² This can hardly be other than Thomas Green, last abbot of Croxton Abbey in Leicestershire,¹³ a house with which some of the plotters seem to have been connected.¹⁴ As will in due course be observed there is some reason for the supposition that this ex-abbot was actually executed for his share in the conspiracy. The other clerical suspect was Thomas Maunsell, vicar of Brayton, who had played an important, if somewhat disreputable part in the Pilgrimage of Grace,¹⁵ and

¹ *V.E.*, v, 78.

² *S.P.* i, 166, fo. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 20.

⁴ *V.E.*, v, 68.

⁵ *S.P.* i, 166, fo. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fos. 29, 30.

⁷ *V.E.*, v, 102.

⁸ *S.P.* i, 166, fos. 17, 30. The name Robert here occurs in both documents.

⁹ *V.E.*, v, 62; *Yorks. Chantry Surveys* (Surtees Soc., xci, xcii), pp. 205, 379.

¹⁰ *S.P.* i, 166, fo. 17—the Sheriff Hutton list; *cf. ibid.*, fo. 29, where Robert Burton occurs amongst those arrested at Wakefield.

¹¹ *V.E.*, v, 68.

¹² *S.P.* i, 166, fos. 16, 27.

¹³ The deed of surrender signed by him is printed in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, ii (1), 156–7.

¹⁴ *Cf.* above, pp. 387, 389, note 5.

¹⁵ *Cf.* the references in Dodds, *op. cit.*, and especially Maunsell's statement in *L. & P.*, xi, 1402.

had been excepted from the royal pardon of November 1536, though not from that of July 1537.¹ In 1541 he seems to have been found at Wakefield with the priest John Dixon, along with whom and with the Quondam of Croxton he was certainly taken to Pontefract.² But Maunsell's previous good fortune did not desert him and he apparently held the living of Brayton until his death in 1555.³ It is likely that in 1541 his bad reputation alone was sufficient to entail his arrest in connection with any local sedition, and that no positive evidence of his guilt was at any stage forthcoming.⁴ Nevertheless, the undoubted clerical element in the plot remains impressive: the Yorkshire episode of 1541 rivals the western rising of 1549 as a classic example of Tudor parish clergy heading reaction against the policy of the Crown.

It seems high time to discuss what is known of the causes of the trouble, the plan of the conspirators and the actual course of events.

Chapuys goes so far as to assert that the conspiracy was far more dangerous than the former—the Pilgrimage of Grace—the people's indignation having risen higher owing to the cruelties and exactions which followed the Pilgrimage, and the time of the year, the spring, being more favourable to rebellion.⁵ In another despatch Chapuys gives as the chief northern grievance the King's seizure of the rentals, not only of the abbeys, but of the principal lords like Northumberland, with the result that the money which formerly circulated in the North now came up to London.⁶ This comment seems of the highest importance. The fear lest "ther should be no money nor tresor in thos partes" had been a leading cause of the Pilgrimage itself. Aske himself had admitted it as the main reason why the commons rose against the dissolution of the monasteries.⁷

Altogether we may safely ascribe the plot of 1541 to the continuance of that complex of grievances observable in 1536–7, heightened by the punishments consequent upon the great revolt of those years, and by the maintenance of the policy which had disposed of the last great abbeys and was in process of eradicating seigneurial franchises.

¹ Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 401, 414–5.

² *S.P.* i, 166, fos. 24, 27.

³ Cf. Torre's catalogue of the rectors of Brayton printed in W. W. Morrell, *Hist. and Antiq. of Selby*, pp. 306–7.

⁴ He was incidentally a tenant of William Legh (*Aug. Off. Misc. Books*, 171, fos. 21v–22).

⁵ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁷ Cf. Aske's confession printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, v, 335–6.

The plans of the conspirators indicate their confidence in securing a large following, and with local opinion in the state it then was,¹ a clerical plot might easily have developed into a formidable general revolt. According to Chapuys, the northerners were emboldened by Henry's increasing liabilities in France, whither he had just sent fresh troops, and by rumours that the Scots were stirring on the Border. They had so far laid aside their normally dominant hatred as to hope for the assistance of the King of Scots, who would have met with slight resistance had he invaded the country. The conspirators, continues Chapuys, planned to gain as many people as possible to their views, and then denounce and declare openly against the King's government and tyranny, attacking and slaying those who should rise in defence of the commonwealth. The forty or fifty leading conspirators, with over three hundred retainers, purposed to stage their rising at Pontefract Fair. The Lord President of the North, Bishop Holgate, was to be killed and "the King's fortress in which he resided" seized and defended.² Pontefract Castle, evidently intended in this passage,³ had been the first objective and subsequently the main headquarters of the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁴ Known since the reign of Edward I as the "Key of the North,"⁵ and still in fair condition,⁶ Pontefract would have formed, pending help from Scotland, the essential centre of resistance against loyalist levies moving up from the South or Midlands. Bald and second-hand as are the accounts of Chapuys, on this topic almost our sole informant, they can be made to yield a perfectly feasible plan of campaign.

Of the actual course and collapse of the plot we know less than of its plans and membership. Marillac simply notes that the design would have succeeded had not one of the plotters revealed the secret. The rest then sought safety in flight, some to Scotland, some to the "mountains and desert places." A few were made prisoners, who might or might not, says Marillac, be

¹ Marillac speaks of "le peuple . . . d'ailleurs assez enclin à telles nouvelles" (Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 297).

² *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 156, 158; *cf.* with these Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

³ The King's Manor at York was actually by now the regular residence of the Lord President (Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-7).

⁴ Chapuys speaks of Pontefract as "the town in which the last rising took place" (*Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158).

⁵ Hunter, *op. cit.*, i, p. xxii.

⁶ Marillac the same year described it as "ung des plus beaulx chasteaulx d'Angleterre" (Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 335).

guilty.¹ The bills of expenses indicate that the Council in the North and Sir Robert Neville, High Sheriff of Yorkshire,² received information regarding the names and whereabouts of the conspirators, and surprised them about March 22.³ As this date precedes by only a few days that of Pontefract Fair,⁴ it would appear that the conspiracy was nipped in the bud shortly before the intended outbreak. At Wakefield, where several suspects were arrested and their goods valued, Sir John Nevile himself, and others, with their servants, helped to search houses. An under-sheriff with six men conducted a search for Swynden and Oswald Gryce, while a servant of the sheriff lay in wait two days for Dixon.⁵ There is every indication that the trouble centred mainly around Wakefield, and Lord President Holgate afterwards wrote of this "commotion" as being "at Waikfeild."⁶ The prisoners were lodged at Sheriff Hutton, in the keeping of Sir Thomas Curwen,⁷ and in various York gaols.⁸

The judicial machinery was rapidly set in motion. On April 2 the Privy Council sent a letter to the Chancellor "desyryng hym to make out an oyer determiner to the President of the Counsaile in the north and the Counsaile there, joyning with the same Robert Southwell esquier etc."⁹ whom the Kinges highnes sendeth to

¹ "... et de faict eussent desjà surpris aucuns evesques qui ont en ces cartiers là le gouvernement et maniemment des affaires, n'eust esté qu'ils feurent descouvertz par ung d'entre eulx qui révéla le mistère, qui fut cause qu'ilz meirent peine après de se saulver les ungs au pays d'Escoce, les autres ès montaignes et lieux désertz, excepté quelques-ungs qu'on a faict prisonniers, qui peult estre sont innocens du faict" (Marillac to the Constable, 27 April; Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 295).

² A nephew of Sir John Nevile (*Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. J. Foster, p. 246; Thoresby, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-5).

³ Chapuys speaks of the plot as just discovered on 17 April, but the bills of expenses mention the transport of prisoners from March 22 (S.P. i, 166, fos. 24, 26). A messenger sent "to the corte being then at Caunterburie" returned on March 29 (*Ibid.*, fo. 22).

⁴ Richard III's charter, confirmed by Henry VII, allowed two fairs at Pontefract, one beginning on Palm Sunday, the other on Trinity Sunday, and each continuing for six days afterwards (B. Boothroyd, *Hist. of Pontefract*, appendix, p. ix). Palm Sunday fell on April 10 and Trinity Sunday on June 12 in 1541. It seems most probable that the outbreak was planned for the former of these dates.

⁵ S.P. i, 166, fos. 25, 29.

⁶ S.P. ii, 6, fo. 134.

⁷ Cf. *Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. Foster; p. 8, and Dodds, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁸ S.P. i, 166, fos. 14, 28, 30. Davy Hall, for which the city sheriffs then paid the King a fee-farm (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 221), the Kidcote on Ouse-bridge, and the Castle are mentioned. Both at Sheriff Hutton and in York the prisoners were kept in irons (S.P. i, 166, fos. 17, 28).

⁹ A Master of Requests who had been sent on a similar mission the previous year (*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. Nicolas, vii, 74, 77, 112). He actually became a member of the Council in the North in 1541 (Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 491).

those partes for the sitting with the sayd President for the same purposes.”¹ The trials occupied some of the best-known counsel in northern England,² and convictions were probably taking place before the middle of May.³ Marillac notes that some of the northern rebels, priests and gentlemen, were brought to London and lodged in the Tower on May 20, in order to be examined regarding the names of their accomplices.⁴

It will have been observed that Marillac dates the passing of sentence upon Nevile as contemporaneous with the execution of the Countess of Salisbury on May 27.⁵ By this date the executions of the rest had begun. “ And the same daie,” writes Wriothesley, “ were three persons more drawn from the Tower of London to Tiburne, one called Lee, a gentleman of the north countrey, which was hanged and quartered; and another called Tartarsall, a cloath man of that countrey, and one Thorne,⁶ a yeoman of the same partes, was hanged and headed; which persons with their affinitie had pretended to have made a new conspiracie or insurrection in the north countrey in Lent last past, and were brought up to London by Sir Richard Gresshame, knight and alderman of London⁷; and tenne persons more of their affinitie were hanged, drawn and quartered in Yorke for the same treason; and one Sir John Nevill, knight, was sent from the Tower of London to Yorke to suffer execution their for treason, which was of their counsell.”⁸

We can add several particulars to Wriothesley’s story of the executions. Chapuys writes on June 10 that three of the chief promoters of the last conspiracy in the northern counties, an

¹ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 167.

² Francis Southwell, Robert Mennell, Richard Smethley, William Tankard, Richard Palmes, Richard Whalley, Richard Burnell and Thomas Gargrave appear in the list of “ rewardes to lerned councell at the time of the sessions ” (S.P. i, 166, fo. 22v). The clerk of the assize was Francis Frobisher of Doncaster, like Mennell, Tankard and Gargrave a later member of the Council in the North (Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 492–4). He was an uncle of the famous seaman (Cartwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–9).

³ The expenses of counsel and clerks are undated (S.P. i, 166, fos. 19, 22v), but various prisoners were brought out of Sheriff Hutton, apparently for trial, on May 9 (*ibid.*, fo. 17). The expenses include an item “ for paynes takyn by Bryan Lewty, notary, in and about the Kinges besynes, as for wryting of examynacions and other bookes at this present tyme by one hole night and twoo dayes and at othyr dyvers tymes ” (*ibid.*, fo. 19). These records are unfortunately no longer extant.

⁴ Kaulek, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 308.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 386, note 9.

⁶ He is everywhere else called Thornton.

⁷ Father of Sir Thomas Gresham and an ex-lord mayor of London. On his Yorkshire connections see *D.N.B.*, viii, 585.

⁸ Wriothesley, *op. cit.*, i, 124–5.

abbot and two gentlemen, were hanged and quartered on May 27.¹ His "two gentlemen" are probably Legh and Tattershall, and his abbot the Quondam of Croxton, whose execution is not recorded by the chroniclers. The expenses incurred in executing Swynden, Dymond and Dixon on the Knavesmire at York are noted in somewhat gruesome detail,² while John Gryce significantly leaves the Keeper of York Castle five shillings to dispose to the poor prisoners at York to pray for his soul.³ Chapuys tells us that on May 27 the ordinary executioner was doing his work in the North, with the result that the Countess of Salisbury had to be beheaded in the Tower by a blundering youth.⁴

On June 3 the Privy Council ordered the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver by indenture the body of Sir John Nevile to Edward Goldsborough, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Thomas Tempest,⁵ to be by them conveyed to the North and there delivered to the President of the Council.⁶ The expenses of Nevile's conveyance to York are elsewhere recorded,⁷ and he is known to have suffered there on June 15.⁸ The chroniclers agree that in all ten persons, besides Nevile, were executed at York. Legh, Tattershall and Thornton suffered at Tyburn. If the late abbot of Croxton were indeed included amongst the victims, he probably met his end

¹ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 166.

² " Cost abowte hanging up of there quarters.

Item, payd for powles	vjd.
Item, for roppe	vjd.
Item, for caryng of theme to the barres	viijd.
Item, payd to two men that helpe us to hang theme up	viijd."

This account concludes with the following petition—

" Shewith unto your lordeshyp how that the offecers aforesaid hade no maner of ramente belonginge unto the presoners aforsayd, for it hayth bene evermore accustomed that the offecers shulde have the rament of all thosse that ware put to dethe that was in there kepyng. Wherefore we beseche your lordshyp and all this most honorable councell that your said beadmen may have as other hayth had in tymes past, and youre orators shall evermore pray for youre lordeshyp long contenewe " (*sic*) (*S.P. i*, 166, fo. 20).

The "barres" are, of course, the city gates where the quarters of rebels were displayed. The "offecers" are "the foure officers unto the sheriffes of the Cetie," and "your lordeshyp" is apparently Lord President Holgate, whose signature appears on the bill.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 30. This bill also contains the item: "For drink to the men that did execucion at Knasuyre.iiijd." Such refreshment, as we know from many contemporary churchwardens' accounts, was then considered essential even to the transaction of routine parish business.

⁴ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 166. He probably went merely to behead Nevile, and would have no share in the hanging of the plebeian conspirators on the Knavesmire.

⁵ Apparently the well-known Sir Thomas Tempest of Bracewell, a member of the King's Council in the North (Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 490).

⁶ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 197-8.

⁷ *L. & P.*, xvi, 1489, fo. 190.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 932 (p. 451).

elsewhere, possibly in Leicestershire. This would give us a total of fourteen or fifteen executions, a figure which is admirably confirmed by a first-hand and independent source. Archbishop Holgate, who as Lord President had taken a leading part in the suppression of the conspiracy, wrote in the apology which he later made to the Marian government: "The commocion at Waikefeilde beinge appaised with executinge of fiftene persons without anye chargeis to the Kinge and mucche to his advantaige."¹

Enquiries into the ramifications of so far-reaching a plot would be likely to continue for some months, and we are in all probability justified in connecting with it the following entry in the Privy Council Register for November 16, 1541: "Commissions wer directid to the Lorde President of the Cownsell off Yorcke and to therle off Shrewysbery² joyntly, to repayre the xxiiijth of this present to Dancastre, and there to sitt upon thenquyre of certayne traysons."³

The Yorkshire plot of 1541 attained national and even international significance. Henry adopted a friendly attitude towards France; the Duke of Norfolk and other ministers started behaving graciously towards Marillac. This development the French ambassador ascribes to the "marvellous fear" occasioned at court by the troubles in the North, regarding which, the further the investigation was carried, the more was coming to light.⁴ The plot, comments Marillac sardonically, was yet one more demonstration of the goodwill which these northerners bore towards their King, and of which they would show more had they the means to execute it. Such things might well induce Henry rather to think about preserving his own possessions than about disputing those of his neighbours.⁵ Although, thinks Marillac, this particular enterprise had been checked and some of the most guilty captured, the fact remained that the people

¹ S.P. ii, 6, fo. 134.

² Francis Talbot, fifth Earl and Holgate's successor as Lord President (*cf.* Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-90). On his Yorkshire connections see Hunter, *Hallamshire*, ed. Gatty, pp. 75-8.

³ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 268.

⁴ "Je laisse à part le recueil qu'ils m'ont faict au double plus grand que de coustume, et ne puy pour l'heure penser à quoy tendent tant de caresses et tant de belles parolles si ce n'est qu'ils ayent une merveilleuse peur à cause du bruyct de la conspiration du Nord, où je suys adverty que, tant plus on y cherche, tant plus on y treuve," (Marillac to the Constable, 30 April; Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 298; *cf. ibid.*, 295, 303; *L. & P.*, xvi, 769, 850).

⁵ "C'est tousjours la démonstration de bonne volenté que ce peuple porte à leur roy s'il avoit moyen de l'exécuter, qui sera peult estre cause de luy faire plus penser à maintenir et conserver le sien que quereller celluy de ses voisins" (Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 295).

would do as much and more if opportunity served, as by the King's going overseas, or being in difficulties elsewhere.¹ To the government, as to Marillac and Chapuys, the discontent of the North seemed doubly dangerous when considered beside the Scottish threat, which was being illustrated anew by border raids in April.² As Henry had reminded his northern subjects in 1536, by their rebellion "was like to have ensuyd the utter ruyne and destruccion of those whole countreys to the great comfort and avauncement of youre auncyent ennemyes the Scottes, which as his Highnes is credibly enfourmed do with a great redynes watche uppon the same."³ The Scots had been, and were shortly again to be, the best allies of Henry VIII in his task of ruling his northern subjects, but in 1541 it seemed to some observers that the northerners might well join with these "auncyent ennemyes" in a combination disastrous to the unity of England. The tradition of centuries was in fact not so to be annulled by the transient convulsions of the Reformation, yet the danger forced Henry to redouble his efforts to answer the problem of the North.

The events of 1541 had demonstrated more than Marillac imagined. They had demonstrated the utility and the potentialities of the King's newly reconstituted northern Council. Thanks largely to that Council, a movement which in previous years would easily have attained to the military stage now remained a local and short-lived conspiracy. Though, however, the plot failed to accomplish any reversal of the royal policy, it did resolve the King to immediate action. By May 1 Henry had begun to strengthen the Border towns against the Scots.⁴ Shortly afterwards he revived his old plan for a personal appearance in the North.⁵ It became clear that the requisite statesmanlike gesture might take the form of a royal progress marked by lavish expenditure,⁶ majestic condescension,⁷ and a show of impartial justice.⁸ The

¹ " . . . que le peuple ne feust pour en faire autant et davantaige où ilz verroient l'occasion à propoz, qui pourroit estre si ce roy passoit la mer ou qu'il fust travaillé d'ailleurs " (*ibid.*, p. 297).

² *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*; *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158.

³ The royal pardon for the Pilgrimage of Grace, 9 December 1536, printed in *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 406.

⁴ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158. Cf. *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 193.

⁵ The progress had been projected ever since the failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Cf. the references in *E.H.R.*, liii, 267.

⁶ Chapuys stresses this point in connection with the currency grievance already observed (*Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 163, pp. 327-8).

⁷ Cf. *E.H.R.*, liii, 271, *seqq.*

⁸ At York he heard complaints against the Council in the North itself (*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 245-6).

visit to Yorkshire made by the King in the late summer of 1541 seems hence less of a triumphal progress than the formal inauguration of a system which was already evincing its practical value, a system destined to resolve that deep-set complex of the northern mind—"lack of governance."

The failure of the plot, and its sequel, the progress, certainly contributed to the comparative peace and good-feeling which prevailed in Yorkshire during the last five years of the reign. In sharp contrast with the state papers of the years 1537 to 1541, those of 1541-1546 yield, so far as our observation goes, not a single clear case of plotting or treasonous speaking in Yorkshire, though elsewhere in England such cases continued fairly numerous. On the one hand, during these last years, the gathering of seignorial liberties into the hands of the Crown proceeded apace¹; on the other hand the government relied upon the men, money and materials of Yorkshire as the mainstay of defence against Scotland.² While Yorkshire gentlemen like John Tempest and Francis Hastings were winning their knighthoods by Border service under Hertford,³ the minds of their tenants were doubtless being deflected from sedition by the revival of their old hatred for the Scots. If one had to choose the year when the tide of reaction first showed signs of ebbing in the North, that year would be not 1537 but 1541. At all events until 1545, when the first chantry commissioners made their survey, most Yorkshiremen must even have begun to suppose that the obnoxious policy of the previous decade would progress no further. Their main enemy, Cromwell, had passed from the scene, and his master was making short work of Protestant heretics. The King indeed seemed to have provoked a merely temporary break with traditional acceptance and loyalty, and had the Reformation been carried no further than by him, it seems probable that a large degree of religious unity would have been added to that political and social unity gradually fostered by the Council in the North.

¹ Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-3.

² The references to *L. & P.* are too numerous to be given here. The York House Books xvi-xviii show the municipality as constantly pre-occupied with military problems which from time to time practically ousted normal business. Some notion of the part played by Yorkshire in the Scots War may be gathered from the fact that in 1544 Yorkshire contributed 7,400 men to a total of only 16,600 for all six northern counties and Nottinghamshire, Cheshire and Derby (*L. & P.*, xix (1), 140 (2)).

³ *L. & P.*, xx (2), 458.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE HOLME CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, BEVERLEY.

By ROBERT H. CARR and KENNETH A. MACMAHON, B.A.

THE HOLME CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, BEVERLEY.

Beverley is famous throughout England for its two magnificent churches—the Minster and St. Mary's—but many who know the capital of the East Riding intimately little realize that the town once possessed a smaller, yet nevertheless important parish church dedicated to the patron saint of seafarers—St. Nicholas. As its name implies, the church had a close connection with the mariners in Beverley, being built near the Beck, which is a mile-long canalized stream, enabling small vessels to have better access to the town. The present church of St. Nicholas is a comparatively modern edifice, dating from 1877—containing, however, a water stoup from the older church, about which more will be said later.

The history of the church of St. Nicholas is, on the whole, obscure, and it has been mainly through the researches of a local antiquary, Mr. J. R. Witty, some years ago, and others that what knowledge is possessed has been obtained.

Simon Russell, provost of the Minster in the early fifteenth century, repeats a tradition that the first church was built by St. John of Beverley (*c.* 700) on the lands of the Manor of Ridinge, part of the endowment of the church of St. John. This is the earliest extant reference to the first church, and in view of its date (1416) the story must be taken with some degree of reserve. Had a church then existed it would almost certainly have perished in the period of the Danish invasions. No more is heard of a church dedicated to St. Nicholas until after the Norman conquest. At some period in the twelfth century there is reason to believe that a small church, dedicated to the saint and serving as a chapel-of-ease to the church of St. John, was built. The parent church was destroyed by fire in 1188, and from this time there is a noticeable tendency on the part of the daughter church to assert its independence. The financial stringency to which the church of St. John would be put by the disaster of 1188 no doubt stimulated this move for independence. There was, for example, a prolonged

quarrel between the rector of St. Nicholas, a certain Robert de Harpham, and the Chapter of the Collegiate Church in the first decade of the fourteenth century. Shortly afterwards, in 1309, the Chapter complained that certain priests in the Chapels of St. Mary, St. Nicholas, and St. Giles "suae salutis eternae immemores" did not attend processions, but especially was this so in the case of the parish priest of St. Nicholas, Walter de Kelsay: they are warned to attend or the Chapter threatens to proceed against them as violators of the liberty of the church of St. John. These incidents must inevitably be considered as symptomatic of this assertion of independence. In the case of St. Nicholas parish consciousness was no doubt strengthened by the growing prosperity of the town, for in population Beverley (according to the Poll Tax Returns of 1377) ranked eleventh in the kingdom.

There was an extensive rebuilding of the church in the thirty years after 1346. In a large measure this was due to the Holme family, which was one of great consequence in fourteenth-century Beverley and took a leading part in the political and economic life of the town. During the period 1354-65 the name of Richard de Holme constantly occurs in the Borough Records, among those of the Twelve Keepers, and it may be assumed he was one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Beverley at that time. To him may be attributed much of the rebuilding of the church. With this building campaign St. Nicholas Church may be said to have become entirely free from the supervision of the Collegiate Church of St. John, and to have evolved as a separate parish church.

The connection of the family of Holme with the church in the fourteenth century raises the interesting question why the church was referred to as "Holme Church." There are two distinct theories on this point—

- (i) That the church received its name from its position
- and (ii) That the family name of Holme, by reason of the family's association with the church in the fourteenth century and its sponsoring of the fourteenth-century building scheme, became closely identified with it.

Both these theories, interesting in themselves, are worth examination. The suffix "Holme" is a common one in East Riding place-names.¹ Wilfholme, Sandholme, and Hempholme, in the

¹ For a detailed examination of the word "holme" see *The Place Names of the East Riding* (Vol. 14, Place Name Society, 1937).

vicinity of Beverley, immediately suggest themselves. According to Bede, the word meant "river island," and in any case marshy ground is suggested. Sometimes, however, the word is used of an "island" of higher ground, situated in low-lying country. The village of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor is an example of this. Thus some take the view that the early St. Nicholas Church was referred to as the "Holme" Church because of its insular situation. This may be true, since the site of the church is slightly rising ground on low-lying land, and is bounded on the south by the Beck and on the north and east by a stream (now culverted). Such a situation quite reasonably might give rise to the church being called Holme Church, or Holme Kirk. That the word "Holme" was used is obvious from Leland's description of Beverley in the sixteenth century—" . . . and the church of S. Nicholas, by the Holm where the Gut for the Catchis is"¹ and later "Ecclesia S. Nicholai in Beverlac the cut out of Hulle River to the Bridge at Holme."² In addition to this a street leading to the head of the Beck was known as Barleyholme from very early times.

Examining the second theory, that the church received its name from the family, there is one important consideration to bear in mind. Documentary references before 1350 invariably refer to it as "St. Nicholas" Church, and it is only with the beginning of the fifteenth century that the connection with the word "Holme" is common. For example, Robert de Harpham in 1304 is referred to as "Rector ecclesiae Sancti Nicholaii."³ Almost contemporary with the rebuilding of the church there is still no reference to "Holme Church." In the Bedern Court Roll, under the year 1377, mention is made "de uno crofto prout jacet cimiterium ecclesie sancti Nicholai et quamdam venellam que ducit del Personbryg usque dictam ecclesiam sancti Nicholai."

By the beginning of the fifteenth century appear the references to "Holme Church." In 1425 Beverley is partly discharged from subsidies, because there is no parish church in it "except St. Nicholas, Holmekirk."⁴ By the sixteenth century the reference had become common. Leland notes the church of St. Nicholas "vulgo Holme Church," whilst later references are the rule rather than the exception. The true explanation probably lies in a compromise between the two theories. The name "Holme" in the case of Richard de Holme may quite well have referred to

¹ *Itinerary*, i, 47.

² *Ibid.*, vii, 140.

³ *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, Vol. II (Surtees Society).

⁴ *Ibid.*

the area near the Beck, where this fourteenth-century merchant lived, as well as to a township outside Beverley. Thus the church may have taken the name from its benefactor, who in turn had taken his from the locality.

That the "Holme Kirk" flourished during the fifteenth century there is no doubt. The sixteenth century, however, saw the beginning of a period of decline, which coincided with the decline of Beverley as a port, consequent on the rise of Hull. The church suffered during the Reformation, the chantry dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary being suppressed in 1547.¹ Later, in 1573, the church lands were granted to the Mayor, Governors and Burgesses, and consequently the cost of the upkeep of the fabric fell on the town. As a result the circumstances of the church became greatly straitened, although it still continued its function as a parish church up to the outbreak of the Civil War. There is no definite documentary authority for assuming that the church of St. Nicholas disappeared at any specific date, but the period of the Civil War saw its end as a parish church. Circumstantial evidence points to the fact that the building in all probability was robbed of its dressed stone for fortification purposes. Contemporary local sources supply evidence that "barbarous ravages" were committed in the neighbourhood of Beverley by Parliamentary troops in 1642. Stone fortifications were placed on the Beverley Road outside Hull and elsewhere, and it is not unreasonable to assume that much of the stone from the Holme Church went for similar purposes in the district, as well as for general repair work in later years. It seems that the tower of the church alone was left comparatively untouched: it may have been found useful as an observation post in those stormy years. The lack of a church resulted in the parish being united to that of St. Mary's in 1667 for general parochial purposes, and all the tithes and oblations remaining to the destroyed church were transferred to St. Mary's, a position which obtains to this day.

Meanwhile, further information shows that the site was still being plundered. Influenced by strictly utilitarian motives, the Corporation of Beverley in 1690 decided that the Archbishop be asked to allow the taking of "free stones" from "Holmes [*sic*] Church" since the Minster and St. Mary's were in need of certain repair.² In 1692, according to the St. Mary's Church-

¹ The details regarding this chantry are in the *Yorkshire Survey of Chantries*, ed. Page (Surtees Society).

² *Beverley Borough Records*, ed. J. Dennett (Y.A.S. Record Series).

wardens' Accounts, a payment of 6*d.* was made at a survey of the ruins, together with payment for labourers. Such was the end of St. Nicholas Holme Church.

No attempt seems to have been made to build another church until the nineteenth century. It appears that in 1823 the Rev. W. R. Gilby, the vicar of St. Mary's (and, by reason of the union of the two parishes, rector of St. Nicholas), let the site of the old church to a gardener named William Hodgson, who inflamed local opinion by digging on the site and unearthing "large quantities of bones."¹ A public meeting was held: the rector acknowledged his error, and promised to make every endeavour to right the wrong which had been done. In addition, the holy-water stoup, which was used as a combination of a boundary stone and a pig trough on Westwood, was to be placed on the site of the church. The stoup is now used as a font in the present church. This dispute between the parishioners and the rector over the question of the site of the former church undoubtedly stimulated agitation for a new church, and in 1837 a public meeting was held in order to find ways and means of commencing the building of a new St. Nicholas Church. The matter was left in abeyance after the first enthusiasm had worn off. It seems that local opinion at the time suggested that the vicar was afraid that the Lord Chancellor might make a presentment of the living to some other clergyman, and that his own living might suffer in consequence should the projected church be built. It was not until 1877 that the foundation stone of the present one was laid, and it owes its existence to Edward Carr Glyn, who provided a considerable sum to begin the erection. It was intended to build the church on the site of the old one, but it was found that the site was too wet, and accordingly it was erected on an acre of land about fifty yards to the north of where its predecessor stood.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE SITE OF THE HOLME CHURCH.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The work of excavation on the site of the earlier church was commenced on September 24th, 1938, after a preliminary examination had been made during the preceding week. It was learned that the site had been sold for building purposes. Accordingly it was thought that if the land were built upon, the opportunity

¹ This and much of the information which follows is from the MSS. of Gillyatt Sumner and Robert Prattman, two nineteenth-century antiquarians.

of making a plan and securing any relics of the old church would be irretrievably lost. This was necessary in view of the fact that up to the present no print or plan of the church has come to light. It may be that, hidden away in some private collection, one may be found, though local appeals in this connection up to the present have not borne fruit. Thus application was made to Messrs. Markwell, Holmes and Hayter Ltd., of Albert Avenue, Hull, for permission to excavate the site. This was readily granted, and those responsible for the work of excavation would like to put on record the kindness, courtesy and consideration which they received from Messrs. Markwell, Holmes and Hayter.

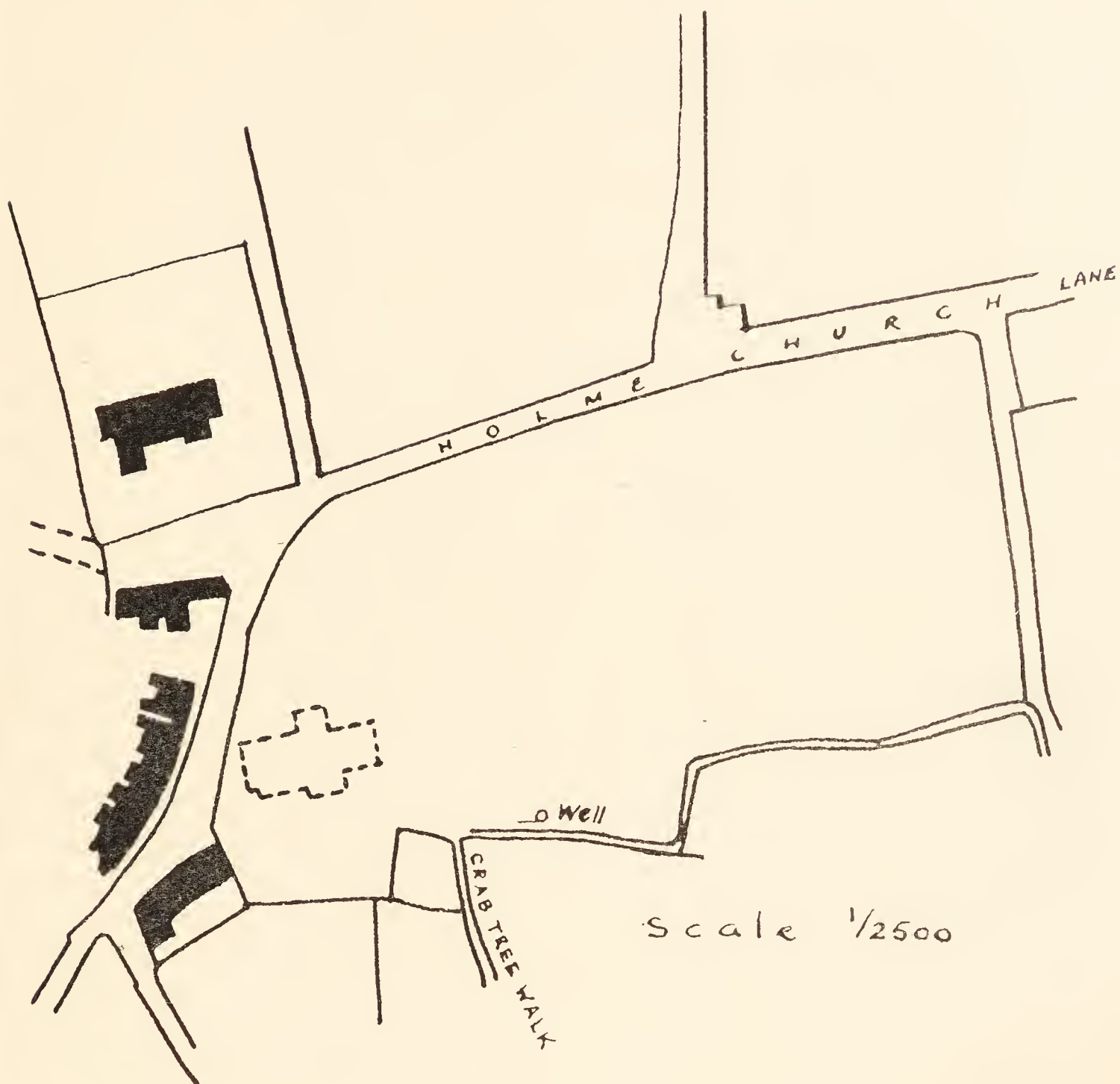
The work progressed sufficiently well during October and November, 1938, that it was thought the task could be more expeditiously carried out with the aid of a local committee and the provision of extra labour. To this end the Mayor of Beverley, Councillor A. Watts, convened a meeting in the Mayor's Parlour, which resulted in the formation of a committee and a subscription list being inaugurated. As a result of this the work was considerably speeded up—a necessity in view of impending building operations—and by the end of March, 1939, a plan was completed.

2. GENERAL SURVEY.

The site of the former church is in a field in Holme Church Lane, Beverley, and situated between the present church and the Beck. The field was known locally as Osier Yard for many years. Rights of way exist over it to Crabtree Walk, a narrow lane which leads to the side of the Beck.

Though reasonably level, the field was characterized by two somewhat noticeable mounds, one towards the eastern side and the other towards the western. A trial trench running north-south was cut across the western mound, and after a few days the walling of the north transept was uncovered. Henceforth the work consisted of tracing out the wall plan of the church. As a result of sieving, some quantity of stained and painted glass was discovered, which was in a fragmentary condition. On the completion of the work of tracing out the walls the whole of the area bounded by these was carefully excavated.

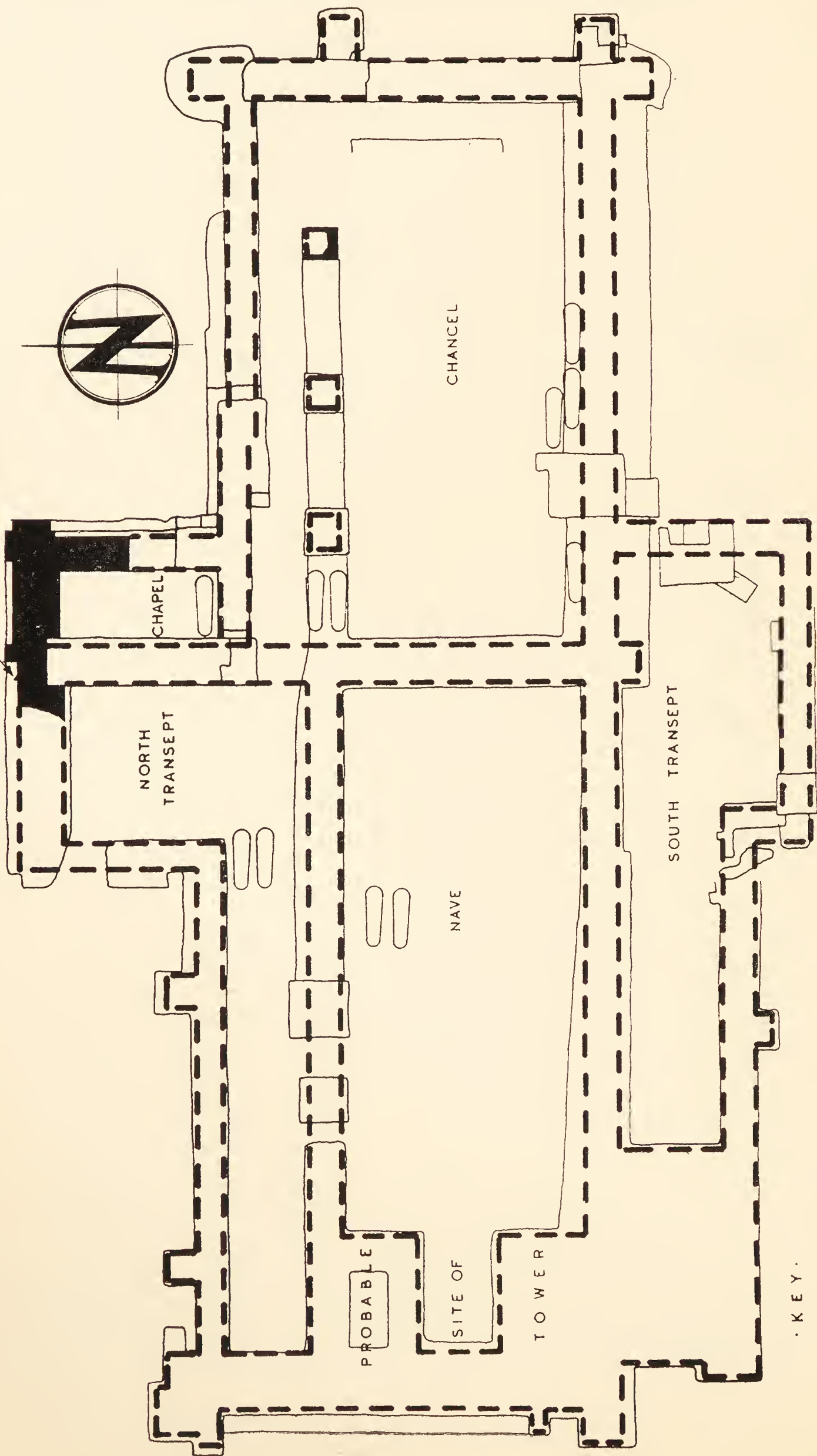
The foundations of the north transept, which were the first to be laid bare, were principally of two types—Newbald stone and sandstone. This walling was found at an average depth of 18 inches. Sandstone comprised the western half, and the Newbald



the eastern half. The discovery of a wall dividing the transept—with, however, a distinct gap in it, as is shown on the plan—suggests that an eastern extension took place. That this was a chapel there is little doubt: human bones were found along the south wall, and these, together with the fact that a pilgrim token was discovered here, suggest that this was the site of the chantry dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was suppressed at the Reformation.

The wall marking off the chapel from the transept, it should be noticed, was at the same level, of a thickness similar to that of the west wall of the transept, and of the same type of sandstone. In the west wall was a gap, but the footings were continued at a depth of 3 ft. 6 ins., and here was a large quantity of obviously burnt gravel. The whole of the eastern half of the foundation

Moulding (see section on page 407)



• KEY •

THE POCHÉ REPRESENTS THE PORTION OF
FACED MAIN WALLING FOUND
LINES ——— EXTENT OF FOUNDATIONS FOUND
LINES - - - ASSUMED RUN OF MAIN WALLING

Scale of 0 10 20 30 feet

wall, together with most of the eastern wall of the transept and chapel, was built up of Newbald stone in blocks of approximately 15 ins. by 7 ins. by 8 ins., most of which bore masons' marks, consisting of a right-angled cross inside a circle. These blocks were firmly mortared together and where necessary packed with pieces of floor tile to make them level. The whole terminated in an extremely good double-buttressed corner at the east end.



Quarter-size Section of Moulding on outer wall of North Transept.

A piece of deeply cut moulding, 9 inches in length, attached to a stone block, was discovered 14 ft. 6 ins. from the western corner. The moulding was of fourteenth-century type, and its position strongly suggests that there had been a door in the transept wall. Along the edge of the north wall was a layer of heavy chalk: this being just below the surface there was the possibility of it having been used for drainage purposes.

The excavation of the walls and the area covered by the chancel revealed some interesting facts. After the uncovering of the (north) chancel wall, heavy wall footings were discovered parallel to it and 4 ft. from it. Further work revealed the existence of three pillar bases, each 4 feet square and composed of heavy chalk. In the case of the one nearest the east wall, a block of dressed stone with 2-inch chamfer was brought to light. Evidently these pillar bases in their original state were square. These discoveries definitely proved the existence of a narrow north chancel aisle, and in addition supply adequate grounds for assuming the church was enlarged.

The north chancel wall, as revealed, was built up on footings of heavy chalk together with a miscellaneous collection of other harder types of stone. On these were mortared perfectly dressed blocks (6 ins. \times 6 ins. \times 2 ins.) of hard chalk, in some cases marked with transverse bands. Continuing to the east wall, the level of the chancel wall sank about 12 inches, and core only was visible; and finally near the east end it resolved itself into a

considerable mass of heavy chalk footings, which extended in roughly circular shape around the north-east corner. This extension of footings suggests the possibility of there having been a buttress on the north side.

Parallel to the east end was evidence of what was probably an altar base. This consisted of dressed blocks of chalk with a serrated inner edge but perfectly straight outer edge. The blocks were of 9 ins. \times 10 ins. dimensions, and the whole was set in rough thick mortar, terminating 5 ft. 6 ins. from the south wall and at a somewhat greater distance from the north wall. From this edge were taken fragments of stained glass together with window lead.

The east wall base, 4 feet wide, was of the usual type of hard chalk core. The general level of the wall fell away towards the north-eastern corner, and a striking feature was the accumulation of large pieces of chalk in roughly square fashion, almost in a line with the pillar base uncovered. The wall itself terminated in a corner buttress foundation principally composed of Newbald stone on heavy chalk footings.

At the south end of the east wall, and complementary to that at the north-east corner of the foundations, was also a circular mass of heavy chalk. The south wall of the chancel in thickness represented a strange contrast to the other walls, being twice as wide at the same level. The inner edge was delineated by large square blocks of cut chalk of the normal hard type, and these continued for the whole length of the chancel. The wall core was also of chalk, whilst varying types of harder stone had clearly provided a wall base in the deeper footings for the outside wall. Here, too, was evidence of three wall burials, whilst stained glass was discovered along the outside edge in the clay. During the excavations of the chancel a centre wall core running north-south, and in a direct line with that in the north chantry, was uncovered. The whole of the chancel was excavated and the area showed the presence of mortar on a layer of chalk. No floor paving stones were secured, but the fact of the mortar gives every reason for belief that the chancel was paved and/or tiled.

As in the case of the chancel, the nave showed the presence of three wall bases running parallel to each other and ending in a mass of heavy chalk at the west end. The core of the north wall continued definitely with two buttress projection footings, and was principally composed of rather larger pieces of chalk than was evident in other cases. No glass of any kind was found here.



Exposed Wall and Buttress of North Transept
and Chapel.



Edge of probable Altar Base.



South Buttress of East Wall.

Although it was obvious that the chancel pier bases were intended to be a continuation of the inner nave wall, the whole was somewhat out of alignment, a fact which will have some influence on the theory of the church's development. There were two definite breaks in the continuity of the wall, as is shown on the plan.

The whole of the south wall of the church showed obvious signs of interference, since towards the west end a spread of core had occurred.

As has been shown, these three walls ended in an area of heavy chalk at the west end. A definite south edge was revealed close to the side of the field. Mortar was present in some quantity, and from this it is safe to conclude that the church had a western tower. No dressed stone *in situ* was found, which points to the fact that removal of stone was deliberate rather than haphazard: this would be the area principally affected by the "survey" of 1692.

Much difficulty was experienced in the excavation of what was a south aisle and transept, owing to disturbance which had taken place, possibly in 1823, as shown previously. Leland's description of the church referred to it as being "crosse isled," and therefore there were grounds for belief that the church was cruciform in character. A south transept was discovered, complementary to the one on the north. Disturbance had definitely destroyed much of the walling around the eastern corner of this transept, and heavy chalk was piled against the south wall. The wall of the southern aisle was heavily mortared, and along its edge much stained glass was found. This wall finally connected up to the chalk at the west end.

As will have been seen from the foregoing survey, a plan of the earlier church has been secured. The absence of any definite and substantial clues to help date the various parts of the church by archæological means has largely been the result of extensive stone robbing. Taking both archæological and historical factors into consideration, the following developments of the church probably occurred—

The first St. Nicholas Church was probably a small chapel, bounded by the "inner" north wall and the south wall: extension then took place eastwards, with later enlargement (this most probably in the fourteenth-century building campaign), resulting in the addition of transepts. That this theory is reasonably sound is supported by the fourteenth-century type of glass discovered. The addition of a north chapel to the transepts was probably

some years after the church had been completed, but here again the discovery of glass supports the suggestion that this, too, was still fourteenth century.

Peculiar features of the plan, as will be seen, are the very narrow (north) chancel aisle, the complementary aisle in the nave, together with the extremely wide (south) chancel wall. The presence of an aisle in the chancel on the north side would suggest that a similar one would be discovered on the south side, but this was not so.

The excavation of the site showed a superabundance of broken floor and roof tiles of the usual type. An excellent floor tile, 4 inches square, bearing a fleur-de-lis pattern similar to others which have been found elsewhere in the locality, was discovered. A number of eighteenth-century coins, together with earlier examples of Nuremburg tokens, and an early seventeenth-century farthing were also found on the site. A pilgrim token was picked up on the site of the north chapel: this bore on one side the design of a cross on a shield. On the other side were the letters S.M. The token was very roughly cut, and is probably fifteenth century.

The glass and samples of window lead were submitted for expert examination to Mr. J. H. Knowles, of York, and his conclusions as to date and type bear out the theory of the development of the church. A considerable amount—all fourteenth-century—was found around the north transept, east end and south transept outer walls. This glass was fragmentary and opaque, and some examples showed the painted diaper work of the period, and portions of quarries. The window lead was interesting in that it clearly showed where the craftsmen, by exerting a little too much pressure on the lead, had pierced it.

The writers' best thanks are due to Mr. F. W. Brooks, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., of University College, Hull, for his expert opinion throughout the whole period of excavation, and to Mr. K. A. Pilkington, who has been responsible for the plan which accompanies this article, as well as to other colleagues, without whose willing co-operation much less could have been attempted.

YORKSHIRE SCHEDULED MONUMENTS.

The latest list published includes the following Yorkshire Monuments, added during the year ended 31 Dec. 1938. They are all in Section B.

B.

ANGLO-SAXON.

York, Lamel Hill (Anglo-Saxon tumulus).

CASTLE.

Cotherstone.

CROSSES.

Ralph Crosses (Young Ralph; Old Ralph),
Westerdale Moor.

White Cross ("Fat Betty"),
Danby High Moor.

EARTHWORKS.

Camp:

Roomer Common, camp
and tumulus, near
Masham.

Castles:

Boltby Scar, promontory
fortress and three
tumuli.

Burton in Lonsdale,
Castle hill.

Mexborough Castle Hills.

Miscellaneous:

West Tanfield, Magdalen
Field earthwork.

MANOR HOUSE.

Howden, The Bishop's
Manor House (Langley's
Gateway and curtain
wall).

PREHISTORIC.

Skipwith Common, "Danes
Hills" (tumuli on Crook
Moor).

Skipwith Common, group of
tumuli including "Danes
Hills" (near Mount Plan-
tation).

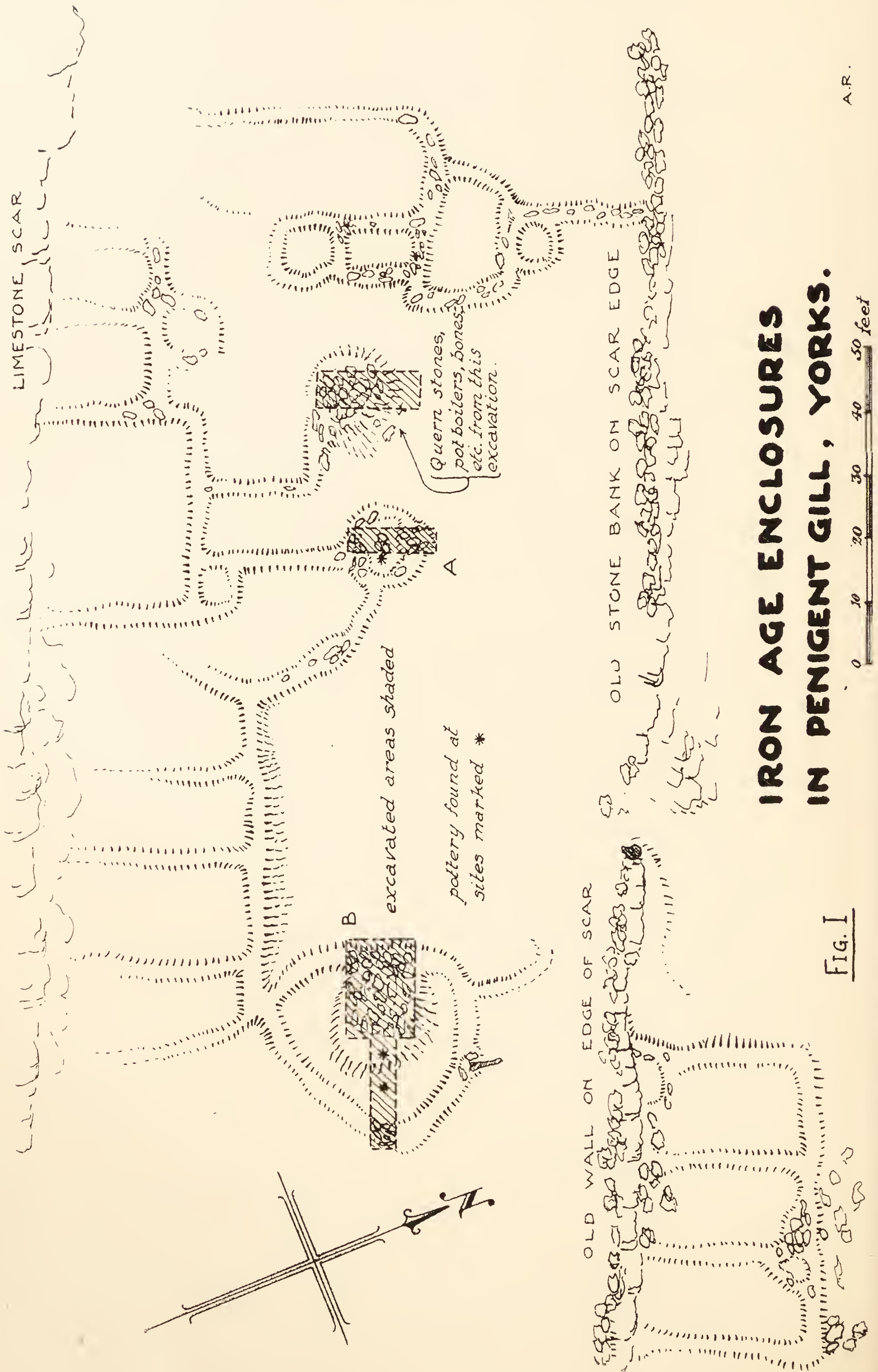
ROMAN.

Roman Camp, Grewel-
thorpe.

"Roman Ridge"
(? Roman road), section
450 yards NNE. of Kim-
berworth Park Farm,
Rotherham.

Roman Villa, Langton.

E. W. CROSSLEY.



IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS IN PENIGENT GILL.

A survey and excavations of Iron Age settlements in the limestone pastures on the south side of Penigent Gill, made in 1937, showed that there were two distinct series—one situated in Dawson Close, the other approximately three quarters of a mile distant in an easterly direction. Each series consisted of the usual rectangular enclosures of the "croft" type, a more rectangular and better defined enclosure, several hut circles of the usual type, and a hut circle with more interesting features. It is hardly possible to show at present to what extent each series formed a single unit.

I. DAWSON CLOSE SERIES.

Dawson Close is a large field rising very steeply from the right bank of Penigent Gill, and is cut by four parallel "terraces" running east and west. The terraces are separated by steep escarpments of limestone.

(1) On the lowest terrace there is one well-defined hut circle and a rather uncertain enclosure. A shallow trench within the hut showed a large flat stone in the centre but no stone flooring.

(2) On the second terrace there are three rectangular enclosures, with a hut circle in the corner of one of them (Fig. I).

(3) On the third terrace were found the most interesting features of the Dawson Close series (Fig. I)—

- (a) At the east end of the terrace and approximately eighty yards from the main site is a large rectangular enclosure, which overlooks the valley and is much better defined and more regular than the "croft" enclosures. It appears to be quite isolated.
- (b) A number of enclosures adjacent to hut circles.
- (c) A heap of stones and debris contained a quantity of bones and teeth of horse, ox and sheep, a number of pot-boilers, rubbing stones and fragments of querns.
- (d) Five hut circles. One (marked A, Fig. I) was excavated and found to have a rough stone flooring.
- (e) The site marked B (Fig. I) consists of a circular line of flat boulder stones surrounding a "courtyard," with a

PENIGENT GILL. GROUP A.

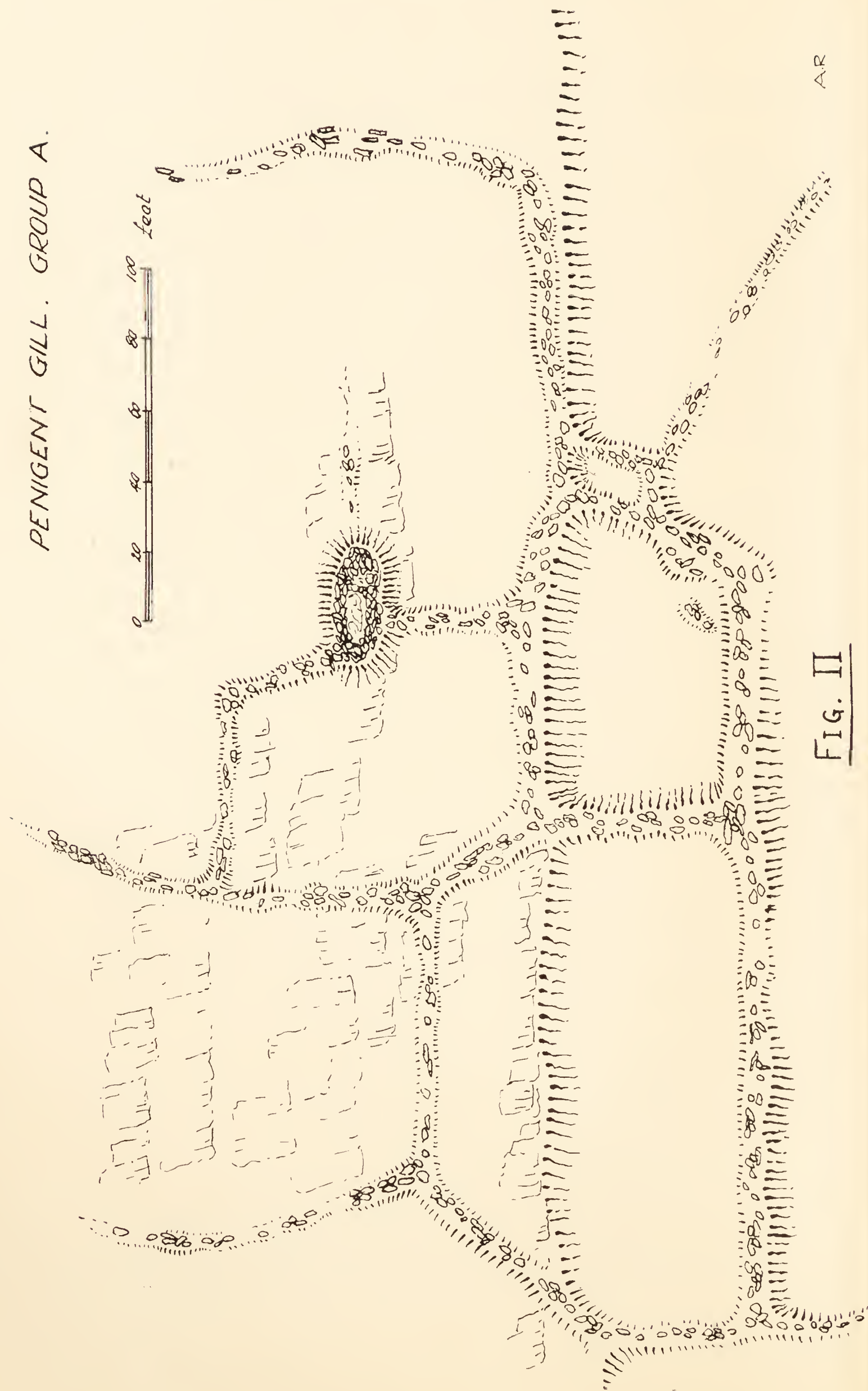


FIG. II

A.R

hut circle built on a mound at the west end of the enclosure. The outer circle of stones, buttressed with earth and small stones, has a clay foundation; rough flat stones within the enclosure form a floor. An examination of the soil beneath the flooring stones adjacent to the outer wall showed that it was made of clay and minute particles of charcoal. A few fragments of bone were found in the soil. The mound within the enclosure showed no regularity of construction, but four pieces of pottery were found during the cutting of a trench through it. The pottery was brown calcite-gritted ware, with two rim fragments corresponding in all details with the big suite of similar pottery from the Grassington hutments and the Settle Caves.¹ The hut itself had walls of limestone boulders and a rough stone floor; at the east end of the hut a part of the floor was slightly raised; one small piece of pottery (pseudo-Samian) and a few pieces of charcoal were found on the floor.

(4) On the highest terrace there are other rectangular enclosures, but their boundaries are difficult to determine.

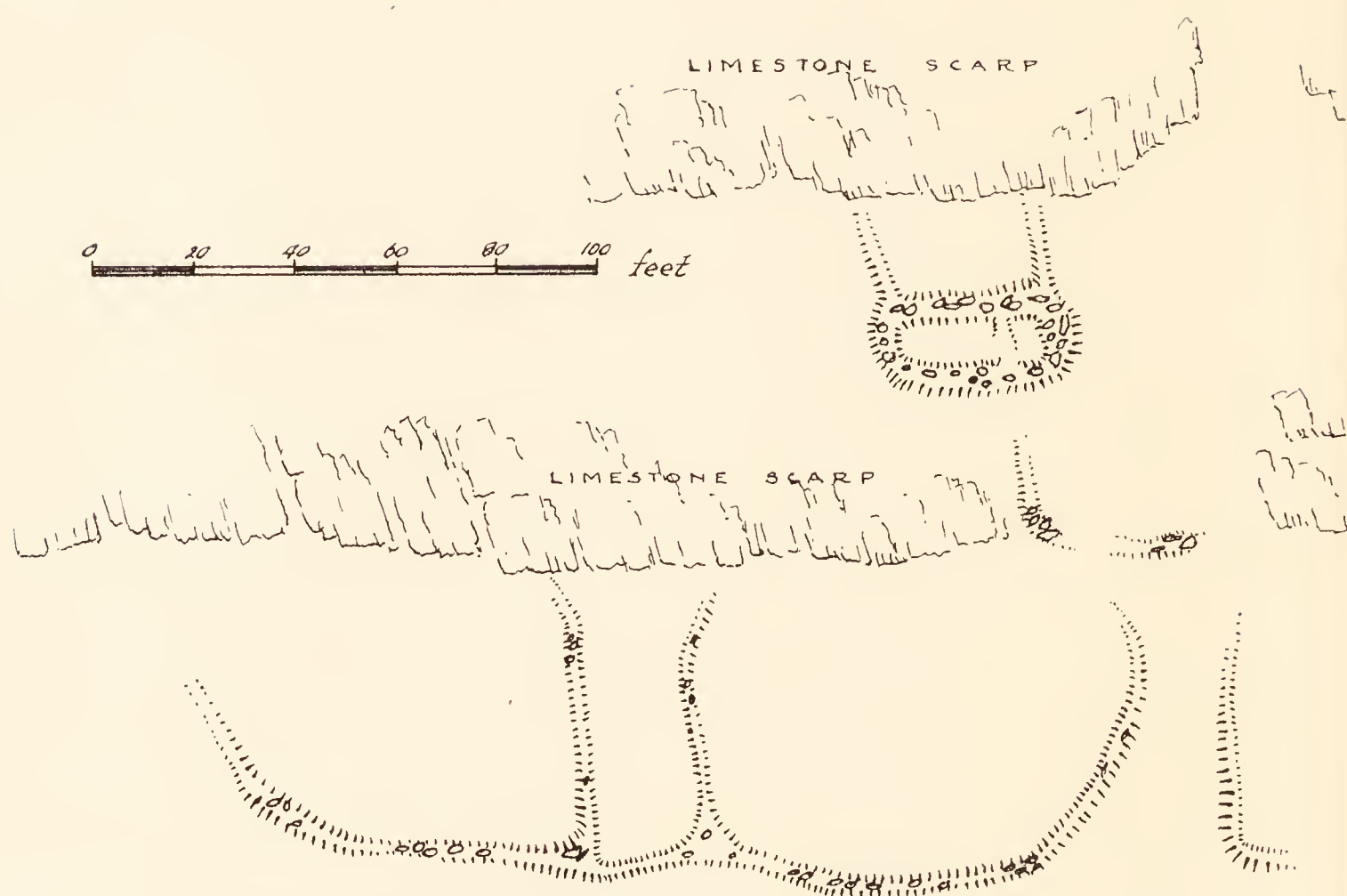
II. FOUNTAINS BECK SERIES.

These are approximately three quarters of a mile to the west of Dawson Close and are situated on a terrace corresponding to the third terrace of the Dawson Close series. There are four groups in the series (Figs. II, III and IV) and each group presents its own peculiar problems—

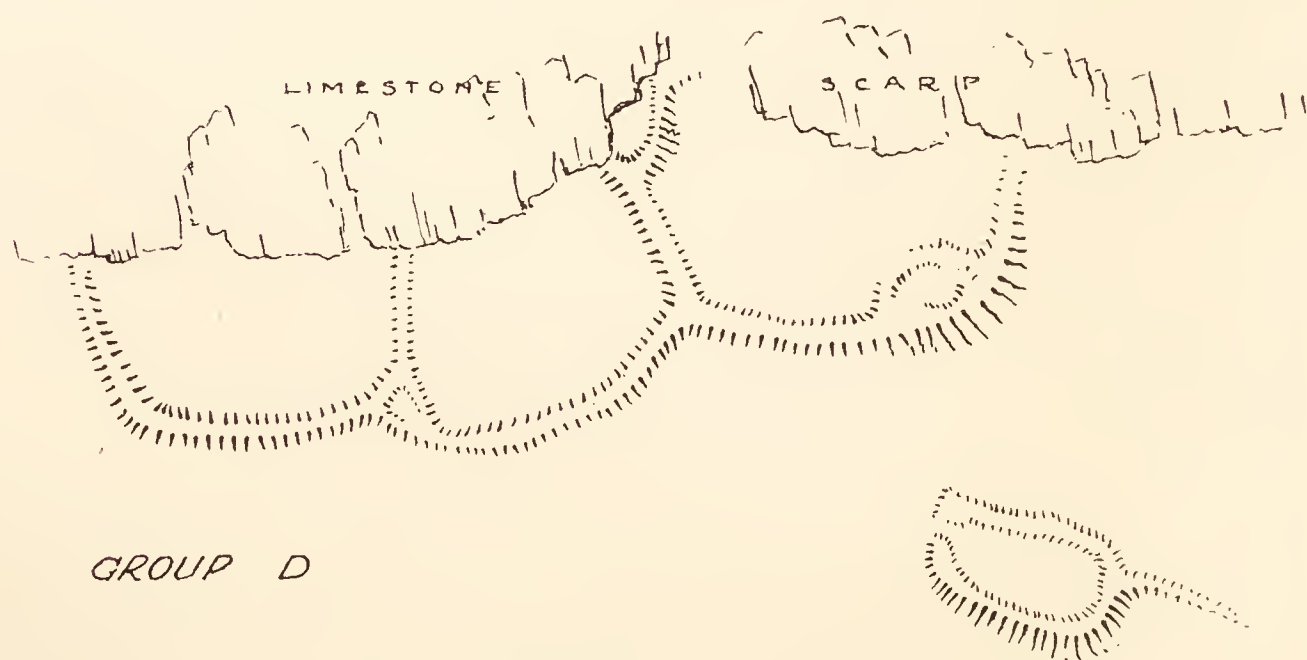
Group A (Fig. II). The main features of this group are

- (a) Well-defined enclosures, much larger than those of the Dawson Close series.
- (b) Massive limestone walls.
- (c) One (or possibly two) hut circles.
- (d) A well-defined oval-shaped structure, built on a slight mound with a good view over the valley. The walls were made of limestone boulders and, judging from the shape, size and position of the stones within the hut, it had been covered with a beehive-shaped roof of stone. The floor was of natural rock. The building was originally divided by a limestone wall into two unequal compartments. An iron nail and a few pieces of charcoal were found.

¹ A. Raistrick: *Y.A.J.*, Part 134 (1938).



GROUP B



GROUP D

Group B (Fig. III). This group is situated some fifty yards to the west of Group A, and consists of three enclosures of the croft type and an isolated rectangular enclosure which bears some resemblance to the one in Dawson Close.

Group C (Fig. IV). The main features of this group consist of two hut circles, a rectangular enclosure and a grain pit, which has already been described by Dr. Raistrick.¹

Group D (Fig. III) is separated from the above three groups by a ravine, but is situated on the corresponding terrace.

- (a) Three enclosures with a hut circle in the corner of one of them.
- (b) Clefts through the escarpments at the edges of the terrace seem to be artificial, and suggest a track to the stream below. An isolated rectangular enclosure is so situated that it could command the track. A short trench showed that the walls of this enclosure were built in regular courses and strengthened by a buttress of regularly laid stones. The entrance seemed to be at the west end.

Until the excavations have been completed, it will be unwise to draw deductions from the evidence already in our hands. The flints, picked up near rabbit-burrows, include a fine triangular arrowpoint, unbarbed, of neolithic type, and smaller points and one blade of mesolithic character. The pottery may be dated 200 B.C.–200 A.D., with a piece of Roman ware of much later date. So far, no refuse dump has been found, and the huts themselves have failed to yield more than one piece of iron. Bones and teeth have been found in isolated places, but never in any appreciable quantity. In the excavation to the west of the hut circle A (Fig. I) a great number of stones showing use were obtained. Two large saddle querns (partly broken) of a fine-grained sandstone, almost a quartzite, were accompanied by several fragments of a similar stone with one side worn and polished by continued grinding, suggesting a third and possible fourth quern stone. The rubbing stones were numerous—mostly ovoid, rather long cushion-shaped stones of coarser grit, slightly flattened on one side by their grinding. The striations on these were at right angles to the long axis. Two nearby circular rubbing stones, with striations in all directions on the ground side, could have been used with the flat quern stones, rubbed with a circular or irregular motion. A few smaller elongated pebbles were “pock-

¹ *Y.A.J.*, Part 134 (1938).

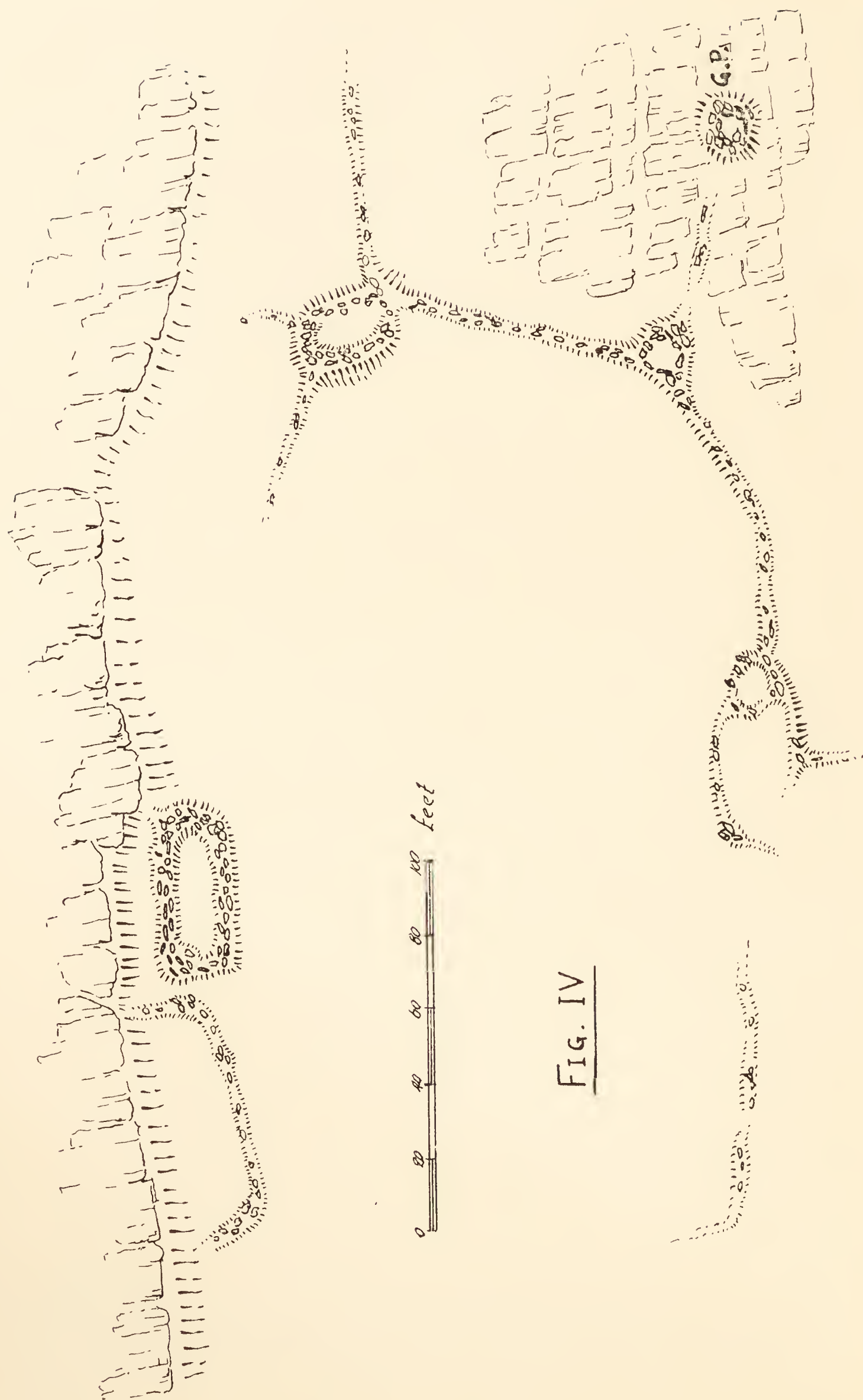


FIG. IV

marked" at the broader end, from use as pestles. No mortar stone was found, but any of the numerous natural rock hollows around the site could have been used. These may have been used for husking grain or pounding roots and herbs. A careful examination of the gritstone rocks may clear up this point.

The most abundant occupational evidence was the frequency of "pot-boilers"—more or less spherical gritstone pebbles generally three to four inches diameter, burned deep red and very deeply cracked or split. These were heated in a fire and dropped into the cookpots to heat water in vessels that probably were not good enough paste to stand direct heating on the fire. One fragment of a well-chosen and well-shaped whetstone for tool sharpening was also obtained.

The writer hopes that it will be possible during 1939 to complete the excavations and report on the nature of certain interesting enclosures, which may give a more definite clue to the character of the sites.

In conclusion, the writer offers his warmest thanks to Dr. Raistrick for his unfailing kindness, valuable advice and active assistance, and to Mr. G. Dawson of Langcliff Hall for his kind permission to excavate. Dr. Raistrick has very kindly supplied the plans which accompany this article.

W.B.

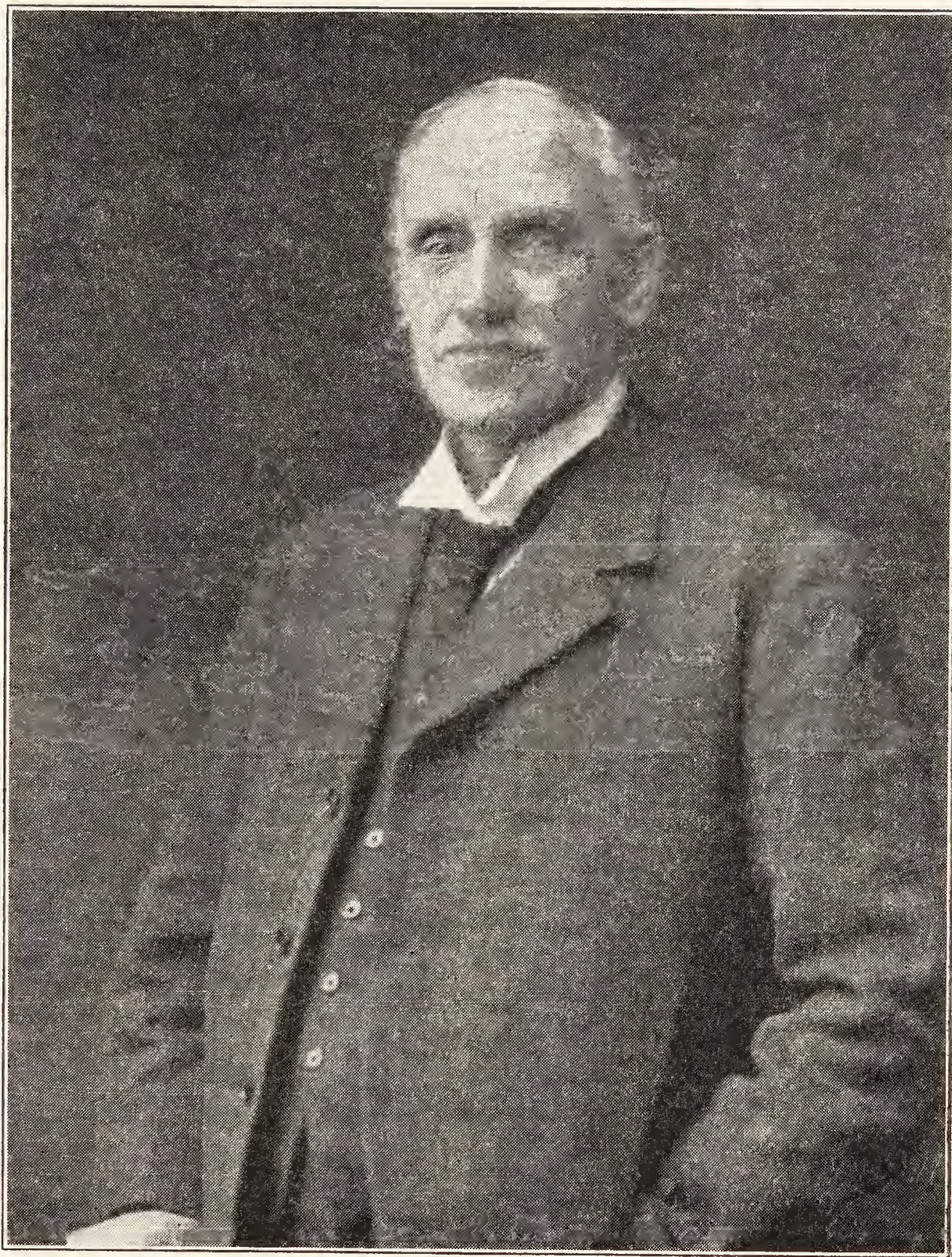
OBITUARY.

GEORGE DENISON LUMB, F.S.A.

¹By the death of Mr. G. D. Lumb on 13 August 1939 antiquarian research has lost an assiduous worker and our Society a staunch supporter. Having been elected 1 Feb. 1890, he had been a member almost fifty years. He was elected to the Council on 25 Jan. 1898, resigning his seat, owing to continued ill-health, in 1938. His attendance at the Council Meetings was exemplary, his interest in the welfare of the Society was great and his judgment sound. His legal training contributed to make him an accurate transcriber of parish registers and local wills, of which he edited many volumes, but he was also interested in parochial history and numismatics. He took an active part in the founding of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society. It was at the Annual Meeting of our Society on 26 Jan. 1899 that it was resolved on the motion of Dr. J. E. Eddison, seconded by Mr. J. W. Clay, that the subject of the custody, transcribing and publication of the parish registers in the county be referred to the Council, who were requested to appoint a Committee to report on the same. The Council soon got to work, for on 16 Feb. following it was resolved (1) that a Society to be called the Yorkshire Parish Register Society be formed, and (2) that Dr. (F.) Collins and Mr. (G. D.) Lumb should be the Hon. Secretaries of the proposed Yorkshire Parish Register Society. These two proved themselves to be ideal secretaries for this work, and they quickly placed the new Society on a firm basis. Mr. Lumb continued to act as an Hon. Sec. of that Society until his resignation of the office in Feb. 1921. During this period he transcribed and edited numerous volumes.

Mr. Lumb also acted as Hon. Secretary, Hon. Editor and Hon. Treasurer of the Thoresby Society, and he was largely responsible for its financial stability and the high quality of its publications. Valuable as his services as a member of the Council of the Yorkshire Archæological Society were, nearly the whole of his publications were edited for and printed by the Yorkshire Parish Register and the Thoresby Societies, for the publications of which he was largely responsible.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. G. E. Kirk for help in compiling this account.



GEORGE DENISON LUMB, F.S.A.

Member of Council of Y.A.S. 1898–1938.

Hon. Sec. of Yorks. Parish Register Society 1899–1921.

*[Photograph reproduced by courtesy of
Messrs. J. Bacon & Ismay Taylor, Leeds]*

Mr. Lumb edited the following volumes and papers.

For the YORKSHIRE PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY—

The registers of Addingham, 1612-1812; Austerfield, 1559-1812; Darrington, 1567-1812; Easingwold, 1599-1812; Garforth, 1631-1812; Kilburn, 1600-1812; Kippax, 1539-1812; Mirfield, Vol. II; Rothwell, 1538-1812, 3 vols.; Saxton, 1538-1812; and jointly with G. E. Park—Burton Fleming, 1538-1812.

For the THORESBY SOCIETY—

The parish registers of Aberford, 1540-1812; Adel, 1606-1812; Leeds, 1612-1757, 5 vols.; the chapelries of Leeds—St. John's, Holy Trinity, Armley, Beeston, Bramley, Chapel Allerton, Farnley, Headingley, Holbeck, Hunslet, 1720-1812; Methley, 1560-1812.

Testamenta Leodiensia: Wills of Leeds, Pontefract, Wakefield, Otley and District, 1514-1561, partly in *Miscellanea* (Vols. IX, XI, and XV), but also in two special vols. (XIX and XXVII).

Extracts from the *Leeds Intelligencer* 1755-1776, and the *Leeds Mercury*, 1721-1776, partly in *Miscellanea* (vols. XXII, XXVI, XXVIII), and also in a special volume (XXXIII).

Miscellaneous Papers: A Thoresby Manuscript (Vol. II). Abstract of the Leeds Manor Rolls, 1650-1662; Observations out of the Mannour Book of Leeds (Vol. IX). The Justices' Note-Book of Capt. John Pickering, 1656-60; The Life and Funeral Sermon of the Rev. Richard Stretton, M.A. (Vol. XI). The Dukedom of Leeds; The Family of John Harrison, the Leeds Benefactor; Burials at St. Paul's Church, Leeds; Justices' Note-Book of Capt. John Pickering (*cont.*); The Family of Denison of Great Woodhouse and their residence in Leeds (Vol. XV). John Thoresby; Extracts from the Minute Book of the Committee of Charitable Uses, Leeds; Adel register transcript, 1600 (Vol. XXII). John Miers, the Profelist; The Nalson Family of Altofts and Methley; St. John's Church—The Trustees Account Book, 1660-1760; Leeds Manor House and Park; Lease, dated 1687, of the Tithe of Hay in Leeds by the Earl of Burlington to Thos. Dixon (Vol. XXIV). The Old Hall, Wade Lane, Leeds, and the Jackson Family; Ellis of Kiddal; The Denison Family; The Old Hall, Burmantofts; A Fifteenth-Century Rental of Pontefract; The Last Shop with Bow Windows in Briggate, Leeds (Vol. XXVI). Charles Donald Hardcastle; John Miers, the Profelist; William Boyne, F.S.A., Numismatist, of Leeds and Florence; Monuments in St. John's Church, Leeds; Monumental Inscriptions in the

churchyard of St. John the Evangelist, Leeds (Vol. XXXIII).
And in conjunction with Rev. H. S. Darbyshire: The History of
Methley (Vol. XXXV).

For the YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL—

York Penny of Eadward the Elder (Vol. XXX).

For the BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL—

Edward the Elder—Pennies with Façade of a Building
(Vol. XX).

For the YORKSHIRE COUNTY MAGAZINE—

Short Notes on the Clapham and Lumb Families (Vol. II,
pp. 208 and 209).

PRIVATELY ISSUED—

The Wills, Registers and Monumental Inscriptions of the
Parish of Barwick in Elmet.

E. W. CROSSLEY.

[The Section, Reviews, Transactions, etc., of Yorkshire Societies, and Yorkshire Bibliography, is in charge of the Hon. Sec., E. W. CROSSLEY, Broad Carr, Holywell Green, Halifax, to whom all communications should be addressed. He will be glad to have his attention drawn to any items which may have been omitted.]

TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The Bradford Antiquary for March, 1939, contains—Bradford Tradesmen's Tokens of the Seventeenth Century, by W. E. Preston; Quaker Sketches (Nidderdale), by H. R. Hodgson; The Manor of Clayton, by W. Robertshaw; Antiquarian Notes (The Continuation of Wycoller Causeway Eastward, Castlestead, Pateley Bridge, Roads over Blackstone Edge from Lancashire into Yorkshire, by F. Villy); Notes on a Sixteenth-Century Keighley Muster Roll, by H. I. Judson; A Local Conversation Piece, by W. Robertshaw; The Boundaries of the Manor of Addingham; A Local Loan to Parliament; Certificate for Kippax Meeting House.

Hull Museum Publications. No. 202—The Old Dutch Whalers, by T. Sheppard. No. 203—Viking and Other Relics at Crayke, Yorkshire, by T. Sheppard. No. 204—Prehistoric East Yorkshire, by T. Sheppard; Early Valentines; Early Coin-Weights in the Hull Collections, by D. Allen; Staincross and Osgoldcross Local Militia; Seventeenth-Century Tokens; Elf-Darts; Large Stone Axe from Scarborough; Two Rare Flint Daggers; Rare Spearhead in the Hull Museum.

The Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1938 includes—The Occurrence and Origin of Cherts in the Corallian Formation in Yorkshire, by Vernon Wilson.

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC.

The Antiquaries' Journal, vol. xix, includes—An Anglo-Saxon Gold Finger-ring (from York), by Philip Nelson (p. 182); Note on an Arretine Plate from North Ferriby, Yorkshire (p. 207).

Cheetham Society Publications, *Cheetham Miscellanies*, N.S., vol. vii, includes—Thomas Sotheron v. Cockersand Abbey, regarding the Advowson of Mitton Church, 1369–70, by Jos. McNulty.

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Archæological Society, vol. 36, includes—Roman Leadens Sealings from Brough-under-Stainmore, by I. A. Richmond. Vol. 37 includes—Horn Childe and the Battle on Stainmore, by T. E. Casson.

The Economic History Review for May, 1939, includes—The South Yorkshire Ironmasters, 1690–1750, by A. Raistrick and E. Allen.

English Folk—A Book of Characters, by Wallace Notestein, includes chapters on Alice Thornton, diarist, of East Newton, and Adam Eyre.

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